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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Further on Paris Chemical Weapons Conference 1
Shevardnadze Comments on Arrival *[IZVESTIYA 8 Jan]* 1
Shultz, Shevardnadze on Talks *[PRAVDA 10 Jan]* 1
Shevardnadze Comments Before Departure *[Moscow TV]* 2
Karpov Rejects Unilateral Weapons Destruction *[BBC TV]* 2
Commentators View Chemical Weapons Initiative 3
Levin Assesses Proposal *[Moscow Radio]* 3
Bogachev on Initiative *[TASS]* 3
Matyash on Need for Chemical Ban *[TASS]* 4
Batenin Gives Details on Troop Reductions *[Moscow International]* 4
Further Batenin Remarks *[Moscow International]* 5
Joint Venture To Convert SS-20 Transporters *[TASS]* 5

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Shevardnadze Holds Talks in Paris, Departs 7
Meets Greek Counterpart *[TASS]* 7
Meets Frontline States Officials *[TASS]* 7
Comments Prior to Departure *[Paris Radio]* 7
Returns 9 January *[Moscow TV]* 7
Security Council Continues Debating Libya Incident *[TASS]* 7
Further on Belonogov Remarks *[PRAVDA 7 Jan]* 8
Article Views Debate *[IZVESTIYA 8 Jan]* 8
'International Situation' on Current Issues *[Ptashnikov, Chernyshev, Isayev, Patsyuk on Moscow Radio]* ... 9
Shishlin Assesses 'Breakthrough' of 1988 *[Moscow TV]* 11
1988 Asia-Pacific Developments Reviewed *[Moscow International]* 12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze: U.S. Lacks 'Proof' of Chemical Plant *[AFP]* 13
Military Spending in Reagan Budget Addressed *[Moscow Radio]* 13
Soviet Military Paper Profiles John Tower *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jan]* 13
U.S. Congressmen Arrive for Visit in Yerevan *[TASS]* 14
Commentary Views U.S. Reports on Soviet Threat *[Moscow Radio]* 14

China

Qian Says Summit Will Signify Normalization *[PRAVDA 5 Jan]* 15
Academy of Sciences Delegation Leaves for China *[Moscow International]* 15
Joint Enterprise With PRC Set Up in Tashkent *[Moscow Radio]* 15
Cooperation Projects With PRC To Continue *[Moscow TV]* 15
Interview With Head of PRC Science Delegation *[Moscow International]* 16
Soviet Friendship Society's New Year's Message *[Moscow International]* 16

Northeast Asia

Condolences Conveyed on Emperor Hirohito's Death 17
Akhamatov, Rogachev Sign Book *[Moscow International]* 17

Paper Prints Ryzhkov Message *[PRAVDA 8 Jan]* 17
Prospects for Better Japanese Relations Reviewed *[IZVESTIYA 3 Jan]* 17
North Korean Paper Cited on Conference Proposal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Jan]* 19
Commentary on U.S.-South Korea Military Exercise *[Korolev on Moscow International]* 19
North-South Korea Cooperative Developments Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jan]* 20
ROK Develops Economic Ties With USSR, DPRK *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jan]* 20

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reactions to SRV Cambodia Pullout Announcement 21
Timetable For Withdrawal Aired *[TASS]* 21
PRK Ambassador on Withdrawal *[Moscow TV]* 21
Radio Observer Comments *[Moscow International]* 22
Further Radio Comment *[Moscow International]* 22
Vietnamese Spokesman Cited *[PRAVDA 8 Jan]* 23
PRK 10th Anniversary Celebrations Continue 23
Interview With Heng Samrin *[Moscow TV]* 23
Heng Samrin Publishes Article *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 24
Gusev at Moscow Anniversary Events *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 25
Military Paper Marks Anniversary *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Jan]* 26
Cambodian Policy 'Bearing Fruit' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 6 Jan]* 26
Changes Since Pol Pot Reviewed *[IZVESTIYA 7 Jan]* 26
Restoration of Burmese Political Confidence Vital *[Vasilyev on Moscow International]* 27

Near East & South Asia

Further Reports, Comment on Afghan Rebel Talks 28
AFP Cited on Talks Breakdown *[TASS]* 28
Najibullah Speech Noted *[TASS]* 28
Rebels Obstructing Settlement *[PRAVDA 9 Jan]* 28
Opposition 'Conditions' Criticized *[Malikov on Moscow Radio]* 29
Need for Compromise Noted *[Malikov on Moscow Radio]* 30
Afghan Army Continues Operations Against Rebels *[TASS]* 30
Afghan Opposition Sustaining 'Heavy Losses' *[TASS]* 31
Konar Infighting Shows Need for Afghan Coalition *[PRAVDA 5 Jan]* 31
Soviet Middle East Official Reviews Diplomacy *[Kuwait AL-ANBA' 7 Jan]* 31

West Europe

Yakovlev Departs for German Party Congress *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 35
Central Committee Greets German Party Congress *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 35
Observer Denies Prisoners of Conscience Charge
[Ostrovskiy in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 4 Jan] 35
Greece Denies U.S. Bases Used for Libya Attack *[TASS]* 36
Kovalev Receives Outgoing Luxembourg Envoy *[TASS]* 36

Latin America & Caribbean

PRAVDA Account of Interview With Ortega *[5 Jan]* 36
Ortega Interviewed on Esquipulas Agreement *[Moscow International]* 37
KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Ponders Nicaraguan Scene *[6 Jan]* 37

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Zaykov Address Moscow Gorkom Meeting *[PRAVDA 10 Jan]* 39
Gorbachev, Zaykov Visit Kvant Association 9 Jan *[Moscow Radio]* 43
Account of 6 Jan Science, Culture Meeting *[PRAVDA 8 Jan]* 46
Communique on CPSU Central Committee Plenum *[TASS]* 53
Deputies Candidate List Considered *[TASS]* 53
Resolution on Elections *[TASS]* 53

Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets on Elections *[PRAVDA 7 Jan]* 54
Electoral Commission's 'Heated' Debate on Quotas *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 1]* 55
Yeltsin on 'Concealed' Resistance to Restructuring *[Mainz ZDF TV]* 55
Yeltsin on Personality Cults *[Hamburg DPA]* 56
Broader Access to Russian Empire Archives *[TASS]* 56
Leningrad's Solovyev Offers Aid to Leninakan *[PRAVDA 5 Jan]* 56
Tours City, Discusses Rebuilding *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 56
More Solovyev on Leningrad Aid *[TASS]* 57
Leninakan Residents Polled on Rebuilding Efforts *[Moscow Radio]* 57
Forecast Warning of Earthquake Danger Ignored
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 5 Jan] 58
Report of Soldier's Death in Spitak Corrected *[PRAVDA 5 Jan]* 58
Soldiers Injured in Kirovabad Violence Quoted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Jan]* 58
Paper Details Disaster, Devisiveness in Armenia *[TRUD 5 Jan]* 59
Karabakh Committee Members Now All Under Arrest
[London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 9 Jan] 65
Migrants Counted as 'Temporary Residents' *[Baku Radio]* 65
Baku Problems Persist After 'Extreme Conditions' 65
Militiamen Disciplined Over Laxity *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 7 Dec]* 65
Commandant Orders Sanitary Measures *[Baku Radio]* 66
Shcherbina-Led Commission Arrives *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 6 Dec]* 66
Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Appoints Officials *[KOMMUNIST 13 Dec]* 66
Azerbaijan Ideology Commission Holds 1st Meeting *[Baku Radio]* 67
Solovyev Cites Party Leadership 'Failure' 9 Dec *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 10 Dec]* 67
Leaders Attend Moscow Rayon Conferences *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 29 Dec]* 69
Vlasov Writes in New RSFSR Information Bulletin *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 5 Jan]* 69
Uzbek Central Committee Apparatus Reorganized *[PRAVDA VOSTOKA 8 Dec]* 69
Moldavian Aide Ponders Ethnic Issues *[PRAVDA 7 Jan]* 70
Ukrainian Politburo Discusses Ethnic Issues *[PRAVDA 6 Jan]* 71
Tourism Administration Abolished in Kiev *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 3 Jan]* 71
Lithuanian Central Committee Plenum Report *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 10 Dec]* 71
*Informal Lithuanian Inter-Ethnic Group Formed *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 22 Dec]* 72
*New Lithuanian Telegraph Agency Director Named *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 17 Dec]* 72
PRAVDA Condemns Georgian Nationalist Actions *[3 Jan]* 73
Natural Disasters Cause Damage in Republics 75
Heavy Snow Takes Lives in Georgia *[TASS]* 75
Damage in Georgia Cited *[Moscow TV]* 76
Avalanche in Southern Ossetia *[Moscow Radio]* 76
Official Discusses Draft Law on Inventions *[TASS]* 76
More on Customs Official on New Export Law *[Moscow Radio]* 76
New Government Bulletin's First Issue Reviewed *[TASS]* 77
Projects Stopped on Environmental Grounds *[TASS]* 77

Economic

Quake Costs Could Delay Repayment of Loan Bonds *[TRUD 8 Jan]* 78
*Aftermath of Uralmash Rejection of State Plans *[IZVESTIYA 15 Dec]* 78

Agricultural

Mild Weather Conditions Perist in Arable Regions *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 5 Jan]* 80
Agricultural Developments for 26 Dec-6 Jan 81

Scientific

Tolstykh Interviewed on Key Research Programs
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 1 Jan] 81
Science Academy's Marchuk on Lifting Secrecy *[Moscow TV]* 83
Cutbacks in Nuclear Power Plants in Quake Zones *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY 6-12 Jan]* 83
Nuclear Power Plants for Space Vehicles Developed *[TASS]* 84
Economical Tu-204 Airliner Makes Test Flight *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Jan]* 84

Further on Paris Chemical Weapons Conference

Shevardnadze Comments on Arrival

PM0901124889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "Historic Opportunity Must Not Be Missed"]

[Excerpt] Paris—[Passage omitted] "The year 1989 is beginning with an important event, the Paris conference," the head of the Soviet delegation E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister, said in response to journalists' questions at the capital's Orly Airport on arrival in France. "I believe this is a very major event in the political life of the world community, and I hope the conference will take place in a businesslike and practical atmosphere and will be an important milestone toward achieving major results along the path of banning chemical weapons and strengthening the Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of chemical weapons."

"Can we expect the signing of a convention on a total banning and destruction of chemical weapons to take place at last this year?"—your correspondent asked the minister.

[Shevardnadze] "Good opportunities exist. I will even tell you a secret. In my speech at the conference I want to say that our generation has no right to miss such an historic opportunity and that it must seek the conclusion of a convention this very year."

[Kovalenko] "That is to say, it is the task of diplomats of the entire international community not to miss this opportunity?"

[Shevardnadze] "Of diplomats, of politicians, and of all the peoples..." [passage omitted]

Shultz, Shevardnadze on Talks

PM0901165689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 88 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov report: "We Have a Historic Opportunity: E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz on the Work of the Paris Conference"]

[Text] Paris, 9 Jan—The Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons is continuing its work. A general discussion is under way. The majority of delegates advocate the speediest drafting of a comprehensive convention on the banning and elimination of these barbarous weapons of mass destruction. It is quite obvious that the world community is now ready to exclude them once and for all from the arsenals of all states.

The positions of the USSR and the United States—which have drawn considerably closer, as was shown by the speeches by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz and USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze at the conference—and the constructive stance of France and other powers are making it possible for many journalists already to predict that an agreement on the final banning and elimination of chemical weapons is not far away.

On 8 January, during the signing of Soviet-American documents at the residence of the Soviet ambassador to France, the American and Soviet ministers gave brief interviews to PRAVDA, TASS, and IZVESTIYA correspondents.

[Correspondent] Mr Secretary of State, how do you assess the course of the Paris conference' work and the Soviet Union's position?

[Shultz] This conference is a reflection of the concern of both the USSR and the United States over the problem of chemical weapons and their proliferation. Mr Shevardnadze and I have exchanged views on this subject repeatedly. I listened very carefully to his speech, and I think he made a very constructive statement. The Soviet minister told me that he read my speech carefully too. I think chemical disarmament is a sphere in which, as in many other spheres, we now have an opportunity to work together in order to achieve results that will be valuable to both our countries.

[Correspondent] What are the main obstacles to chemical disarmament?

[Shultz] The most difficult thing here is to draw up a detailed monitoring procedure in order to convince ourselves that the agreement reached is fulfilled. We have approved in principle the basic provisions of such an agreement, and we emphasized particularly forcefully the need for surprise [vnezapnyy], on-site inspections. I cannot say precisely how all this will look, but we acquired plenty of experience in the course of talks on intermediate-range missiles. Now we understand how carefully the details of an agreement must be worked out, but we also know that it can be done.

[Correspondent] Is there a connection between chemical and nuclear disarmament?

[Shultz] Chemical disarmament must be carried out. We have started the process of reducing nuclear arsenals, and we support the system of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. That deserves further efforts, and we hope for progress in this sphere. But this progress will take time. [Shultz ends]

E.A. Shevardnadze also answered your correspondent's questions.

[Bolshakov] Do you agree with Secretary of State Shultz's assessment of the Paris conference and the prospects for chemical disarmament?

[Shevardnadze] I agree in principle.

[Bolshakov] Are you finding a common language with the American delegation here?

[Shevardnadze] This is my 31st meeting with Mr Shultz, and at each one we have discussed problems of preparing a convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. Enormous work has been done at the Geneva conference to this end. The outlines of the future convention are now taking shape. It was no accident that I said 1989 could be the decisive year: Perhaps it will even be possible to complete the drafting of a convention this year. In this context I would like to stress the significance of Soviet-American dialogue. Although, of course, all states take part, it must not be forgotten that the USSR and the United Stats have the biggest stockpiles of chemical weapons and the mightiest potential. A very great deal depends on us.

[Bolshakov] In your speech, you quoted French President F. Mitterrand's words about the Bastilles still to be stormed. And you said that chemical weapons are one of them. What do you think: Will it be possible to storm this "Bastille"?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, I think so. There is no alternative. We must eliminate the arsenals of chemical weapons and ban them. Mr Shultz rightly said that the main problem here is monitoring. Science and technology already make it possible to create modern verification systems which would preclude a circumvention of the convention. We have an historic opportunity, and we have no right to let it go.

Shevardnadze Comments Before Departure

LD0901201689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by A. Potapov at the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons on 9 January—recorded]

[Text] [Potapov] Before the departure flight from Paris, Comrade Shevardnadze gave an interview to Soviet television [video shows Shevardnadze and Potapov standing together indoors]:

[Shevardnadze] Despite certain difficulties, as a whole the conference is proceeding well. The atmosphere is not bad, businesslike and constructive. A general mood is forming in favor of banning chemical weapons; in favor of a most rapid conclusion of a convention on halting the production in all countries and in the whole world of chemical weapons; and in favor of the liquidation of chemical weapons. If we manage to implement all of this in a corresponding resolution, a draft of which has been prepared, then I think this will be a major step.

[Potapov] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, in general a process of true disarmament is now already under way. What kind of role do you ascribe to the Paris conference in this process?

[Shevardnadze] This is a major event, a major event. It is well known that chemical weapons are barbaric weapons of mass destruction. I think a large step has now been made in Paris precisely in this direction. It is not just a matter of a resolution. I think the Paris conference is also of great significance from the viewpoint of the moral, psychological, and political preparation for a future convention on banning chemical weapons. This is the main thing. If progress appears in one direction, I think this will correspondingly stimulate movement in other directions too, both on conventional weapons, nuclear disarmament, and all others.

Karpov Rejects Unilateral Weapons Destruction

LD1001110189 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Interview with Soviet chief arms negotiator Viktor Karpov by BBC correspondent Edward Stourton at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons in Paris on 9 January, also incorporating comments by U.S. arms negotiator Lynn Hanson—recorded]

[Text] [Stourton] The superpowers have been using this forum for their own diplomatic purposes. If the American secretary of state hoped to focus attention on Libya, the Soviets were equally determined that shouldn't happen. Mr Shevardnadze waited until this evening, 24 hours after Mr Shultz's departure, to say that he wasn't convinced by the American evidence about the Libyan plant.

[Karpov] From that man you cannot know for sure whether that a plant producing chemicals or spades or some toys. [sentence as heard]

[Stourton] But the Soviet's greatest coup was Mr Shevardnadze's announcement that they plan to begin destroying their chemical weapons stockpile. It left one of America's most senior arms negotiators ruefully admitting that the United States has been scooped again.

[Hanson] I think that they are becoming very good at this sort of thing because it is a change in the way they do business. And because it's normal for us to do this—we have been doing it—our own approach to these issues somehow becomes routine and not particularly newsworthy.

[Stourton] The Soviet initiative is part of a process that's been going on for some time. They've already invited Western observers to inspect some of their chemical weapons, and they've been studying Western weapons' destruction techniques. What caught the headlines was the fact that Mr Shevardnadze promised that they'd begin the process before a chemical weapons convention is signed. But does that mean they'll destroy them all unilaterally?

[Karpov] No one should do that before the convention is ratified.

[Stourton] That may be some way away. In the meantime, the Americans are still training their troops for chemical warfare and modernizing their chemical weapons capability. Does the Soviet initiative call for an American response, perhaps by ceasing to produce chemical weapons altogether? The Western answer to that: The Soviets still have by far the largest stockpile in the world.

Commentators View Chemical Weapons Initiative

Levin Assesses Proposal

LD0901171989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0340 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From the "Panorama" program presented by Igor Zorin]

[Text] Foreign news agencies are expounding in detail USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's speech at the Paris International Conference on Chemical Weapons. On the eve of the conference, the hope was expressed that it would succeed in mobilizing the international community in the interests of eliminating chemical weapons and prompting the urgent adoption of a convention on a complete ban. The Soviet minister's speech showed that the conference can do even more. It is capable of ensuring that real steps are made toward the elimination of these weapons of mass destruction. Our minister said that this year, 1989, the Soviet Union will begin destroying its stores of chemical weapons at a specially constructed installation. Let me ask my colleague Viktor Levin to comment on this decision:

[Levin] As far as I can judge from reports coming into our editorial office, the constructiveness of the Soviet Union's stance has created a great impression on the international community, in addition to its openness and honesty. There was a time, and we are still having to pay a high political price for this, when great words about adherence to disarmament were uttered which did not really correspond to practical deeds. Perhaps this lack of correspondence was especially noticeable in the area of chemical weapons. The whole world knew that we were producing chemical weapons, while our representatives at talks, acting on instructions forced upon them, denied this fact. As a result, the talks made no progress and our country's prestige fell.

As Comrade Shevardnadze noted during his speech in Paris, over the past 2 years our stance has undergone a radical evolution. We have moved from the production of chemical weapons to the complete renunciation of their production, from keeping silent about the figures of existing stockpiles to the publication of such information. Let me remind you of the figure: 50,000 tonnes. We have moved away from trying to protect enterprises where stocks are kept from the eyes of strangers to recognizing the idea of comprehensive verification and inviting foreign observers to see the procedure for eliminating chemical weapons.

This fundamental change in our stance will open the way for a new, extremely bold and, at the same time, crucial step: the start of eliminating chemical weapons. Let me remind you that the Soviet Union has never used chemical weapons; that now it does not produce them; that it does not have chemical weapons outside its national territory and has never passed them on to any other state. And now, in starting to eliminate chemical weapons, we are calling for the strictest possible international verification, including on-site inspection, without the right of refusal, and are ready to do everything possible and necessary for a convention to be concluded on the elimination of chemical weapons in 1989.

The foundation of our actions is openness, for it is an indicator of the sincerity of the country's intentions to keep in step with the world community, and the main precondition of a real and verifiable disarmament process. Today no one can question the openness of the Soviet Union. It is not only solemnly declared, but is also being confirmed through practical deeds. And we have the right to expect such openness of others. Above all, I think, we expect this of the United States, which is not manifesting due openness on the question of monitoring chemical enterprises and is delaying the elaboration of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons. It seems to me that now, after the Soviet Union's start on the elimination of chemical weapons, the United States will be faced most acutely with the question of whether they are ready to keep up with the world community. The Soviet Union regards the interests of humanity as a whole of paramount importance in its foreign policy. This has dictated the new, important initiative expressed in the decision to begin the elimination of chemical weapons.

Bogachev on Initiative

LD0901210489 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

The Soviet Union performs yet another act of goodwill aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation in the world. On the eve of the third anniversary of the publication of the Soviet programme for liquidating all the means of mass destruction in this century, the USSR has announced its decision to embark already in the near future on the destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons without waiting for the conclusion of an appropriate international convention.

This Soviet decision, announced at the international conference in Paris, coupled with the unilateral Soviet commitment, made public a month ago, to cut the numerical strength of its Armed Forces by half a million, to liquidate 10,000 tanks, 8.5 thousand artillery pieces and 800 combat planes marks a peaceful offensive with no precedents in history and is a tangible example of the new political thinking in action.

World public's response to the initiatives of the Soviet Union indicates that in our age a country can enhance its standing on the international plane above all by the pursuit of a policy of strengthening universal security. One cannot strive for one's own security a the expense of others. In the conditions of a "nuclear blind-alley", any attempts to achieve self-seeking political objectives by muscle-flexing make no sense and are doomed to failure.

Yes, one could, in the recent past, detect certain deficiencies in the Soviet approaches to arms control and to chemical disarmament control. The Soviet Union has in fact been a little late as regards ending the production of chemical weapons. At present, however, the critics of our erstwhile stand have an excellent opportunity to practically demonstrate their commitment to a universal chemical disarmament by following the Soviet example, giving up, for starters, at least the manufacture of binary charges. Such an act of goodwill will not only enhance trust between

states but will also eliminate a serious obstacle in the way of solving the problem of verifying the observance of the would-be convention on chemical weapons.

Incidentally, the genuine turn-about in the approaches to the verification problems has been the result of the Soviet Union's adoption of unprecedented openness in the field of arms control. The USSR is ready for any versions and procedures for on-the-spot verification without the right to refuse, so as to speed up the signing and entry into force of a convention on banning and liquidating chemical weapons.

Now the participants in the Geneva conference on disarmament have come very close to the historic watershed, to agreement on a complete ban and liquidation of combat poison substances. And this stands to the credit of all the states which participate in that forum. The time has come when they must do all they can so as not to deceive the expectations of the peoples, and to achieve the conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons in 1989.

The Soviet Union is calling on all states producing chemical weapons, on countries which have resumed their production or intend to develop them, to display a sense of responsibility vis-a-vis the world community, to make a halt and thus to contribute to the exclusion of this repugnant and insidious means of mass destruction from the life of mankind.

Matyash on Need for Chemical Ban

LD1001045989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—Political observer Vladimir Matyash writes:

The banning of chemical weapons is one of the cardinal questions of disarmament. Ridding mankind of one of the most barbaric means of mass destruction, chemical weapons, dictates the urgent need for the joint efforts of all countries. The Soviet Union considers the speediest possible conclusion of an international convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons to be one of the priority tasks of its foreign political activity.

It is no accident that the initiative put forward by the USSR at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons in Paris to embark on the elimination of chemical weapons stocks in our country, even before the conclusion of an international convention, has aroused an immense response in the world.

In an interview with Soviet correspondents, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said: "I view the Soviet Union's position at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons, which was set out by USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, as a very constructive one. Chemical weapons are an area, like many others, in which we have opportunities to work together to achieve results of real value to both countries. This conference reflects the concern of both the Soviet Union and the United States over the problem of chemical weapons and their proliferation." [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union proceeds from the basis that a future convention should effectively insure a complete and universal ban on the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons in any form and the elimination of all such supplies, without exception, and also should guarantee that such weapons never come to light again anywhere.

The Soviet Union is a determined opponent of the proliferation of chemical weapons. It sharply condemns the handing over of chemical weapons and the technology to manufacture them, not to mention instances of their use. The USSR position on this question is clear: The use of chemical weapons cannot be justified under any circumstances. The Soviet Union is in favor of effective research into reports on the use of chemical weapons guided by the United Nations. However, the main conclusion which, in the opinion of the Soviet side, is drawn from an analysis of the problem of the proliferation and use of chemical weapons, boils down to this: The development of a convention on a complete, global ban on chemical weapons should be concluded as soon as possible, in the coming year if possible, and should be put into effect.

Batenin Gives Details on Troop Reductions

LD0801041688 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Talking to a Radio Moscow correspondent about the planned reduction of Soviet Armed Forces by half a million servicemen Major General Geliy Batenin supplied the following details: Cutbacks are to be implemented over the next 2 years. They will provide—and this is particularly important—for the withdrawal of six tank and other divisions and units from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Structurally, the Soviet Armed Forces will largely become defense-oriented and the degree of military confrontation along the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization will go down.

We asked Gen Batenin about the opportunities for verifying progress in the arms reduction.

[Begin Batenin recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] This is a very interesting question. The USSR is ready for such verification. We are now considering the prospects for inviting foreign observers to monitor all the major stages of the pullout of the 50,000 Soviet soldiers from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic and also the principal cutbacks in various military districts within the country. NATO observers and public representatives will come from the West to watch all stages of withdrawing and disbanding troops, converting military equipment to peaceful needs, and destroying certain types of weapons. Some tanks will be smelted to offer extra supplies of good metal, others will probably be put to peaceful uses. [end recording]

Gen Batenin compared the Soviet and Western approaches to the concept of verification.

[Begin Batenin recording] Generally speaking, the verification issue once used to be very painful for us and we would very sensitively react to the problem of who and in what way would be controlling our moves. But the missile treaty showed that we have chosen a path of openness. Today, especially in the area of 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arsenals, it is the United States who has been showing resistance to comprehensive verification. Specifically, the Americans claim that since it is impossible to take the sea-based cruise missiles under control, these should not be made subject to limitation. And they say no to all our suggestions that inspection should involve even missile arming stations, missile manufacturing plants and any submarines or vessels carrying such missiles. They believe this would be a violation of some integral rights of the country disposing of the type of weapons under discussion. Thus, the Soviet Union has been showing a more resolute approach to verification, and even in making unilateral moves we have been making sure the world public and officials in the West can see that we do abide by our unilateral disarmament pledges. [end recording]

Our correspondent asked about Gen Batenin's attitude to the sufficient defense, or nonaggressive defense, research projects which are being developed both in the West and in the Soviet Union.

[Begin Batenin recording] The trend towards nonaggressive strategies appears to be worldwide. There has been a variety of viewpoints concentrated largely around European security. The Soviet military doctrine says the Armed Forces should be organized so as to be unable to undertake sudden or large scale pre-emptive operations but rather to ensure reliable defense of their own country without spreading warfare to the apparent enemy's territory. To ensure European security, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization must take reciprocal steps in that direction. The first step has already been made by signing a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. The 2,600 nuclear missiles liable to scrapping under it would have been sufficient to destroy at least the European Continent.

In 2 years' time we will approach a line beyond which such missiles will no longer exist, and yet we have accomplished only a small share of what should be done. Meanwhile, those believing in security ensured by the strength of nuclear arsenals want nuclear weapons to be preserved indefinitely. They look on this kind of policy as nuclear deterrence, or the policy of nuclear threat. A major task in this connection is to persuade the broadest possible groups, including the military, politicians, prominent sociologists, and economists both in the West and in this country, if any, that nuclear weapons have no future in the work of ensuring humanity's security tomorrow.

I wish a treaty could be concluded with the West as soon as possible, providing for a 50-percent slash in strategic weapons. Thereby we may achieve a cardinal change in the thinking of those still trying to justify the policy of nuclear deterrence. [end recording]

Further Batenin Remarks

LD0701040789 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] In an interview for Radio Moscow, Major General Geliy Batenin, the military expert of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, said the following about the planned slashing of Soviet Armed Forces by half a million servicemen.

[Begin Batenin recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] First of all, it must be stated that the planned cuts largely concern armed forces and conventional armaments at the most dangerous points of contact in Europe between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Our Armed Forces in the forward-based regions are to be slashed by 50,000 men, that's in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. We are determined to withdraw from those countries the six tank divisions, whose offensive capability has been a source of concern in the West, and also other units and divisions designed for offensive operations. Along the line of confrontation with NATO, we are leaving only a force sufficient for the defence of the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries. Out of the 10,000 tanks liable to be withdrawn, 5,000 will be pulled out of the three East European countries I mentioned. All this confirms that in political terms this country's doctrine is aimed at preventing war and resisting aggression without launching any preemptive offensive operations. [end recording]

Another question to Gen Batenin: How big is the share of Soviet Armed Forces earmarked for slashing, and what kind of balance do NATO and the Warsaw Treaty maintain?

[Begin Batenin recording] To my knowledge, the unilateral reduction will involve 45 divisions, or about 15 percent of our total Armed Forces. But this voluntary move on the part of the Soviet Union is unprecedently significant since it marks a practical contribution to the work of ridding the world of the burden of conventional arms. Of course, the Warsaw Treaty is strong, but no more than NATO. We have many more tanks and an advantage in the total quantity of armor, as well as in landing equipment. Yet this advantage is by far not so global as the West has been trying to present it. Meanwhile, NATO has an impressive advantage in naval forces, which means Europe is safely protected from the sea in both north and south. Besides, NATO is much stronger in terms of tactical assault aircraft. I'd like to point out the planned cutbacks will be effected not only on German, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian territory, but also in 7 or even 11 military districts within the Soviet Union. This testifies to this country's resolve to work rigorously for a lesser military threat to Europe. [end recording]

That was part one of the commentary contributed by the military expert Geliy Batenin on the planned slashing of Soviet Armed Forces.

Joint Venture To Convert SS-20 Transporters

LD0501102989 Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Odessa January 5 TASS—The engineering workers of Odessa, a port on the Black Sea coast, and the Swiss-West German Liebherr firm are creating a new

building crane with a lifting capacity of 120 tons on the basis of the transporter of the intermediate-range missile which is known in the West as SS-20.

Soviet specialists have finalised the work to modernise the future crane's running gear which they now hand over to the foreign partners for a final assembly of the crane.

Immediately after the Soviet Union and the United States signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Short-Range Missiles, the firm's president Hans Liebherr expressed readiness to participate in converting the missile transporters into machinery for civilian uses. The idea is being implemented. At first the partners co-designed a crane with a lifting capacity of 60 tons. Following the successful debut, the partners set about designing the larger crane.

"This joint machine has been designed on the strength of the latest advances in the two countries' crane manufacture", said Gennadiy Koshelenko, general director of the Soviet enterprise. "Due to the tranporter's chassis, the crane which has impressive dimensions is capable of running cross-country in any conditions and of crossing waterways which are up to one metre deep. A high-powered engine will enable it to develop big speeds".

"Our designers, engineers and workers have accomplished the operations provided for by the contract. Foreign specialists now need to make and install the revolving part of the crane and the boom. Cooperation is manifestly beneficial: Never before had we managed to develop a new-generation crane within so short a period".

Shevardnadze Holds Talks in Paris, Departs

Meets Greek Counterpart

LD0901145589 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 9 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Soviet Communist Party CC Politburo, foreign minister of the USSR, had a meeting here today with Karolos Papoulias, the foreign minister of Greece.

In the course of their businesslike and friendly conversation the sides noted with satisfaction the goodneighbour and mutually-advantageous relations between the Soviet Union and Greece, which are developing steadily in different areas. They also noted the further deepening of the Soviet-Greek political dialogue, the importance of political consultations between the Foreign Ministries of the two countries. Both sides voiced the need of giving additional impetus to relations between the two countries, of further promoting the political dialogue.

Eduard Shevardnadze noted the broad opportunities, which the new world situation opens up to all states, including Greece, to take substantial part in world affairs, to make their own practical contribution to them in keeping with their interests and potentialities.

Karolos Papoulias, for his part, spoke highly of the new vast Soviet initiatives which Mikhail Gorbachev had advanced in the United Nations. He welcomed the Soviet Union's concrete steps in the international arena, aimed at doing away with the nuclear menace, consolidating peace and international security.

The ministers discussed certain pressing international problems, among them the situation in the European Continent, including tasks of promoting the Vienna meeting of parties to the Helsinki process successful conclusion in the coming few days.

The sides also discussed the situation in the Mediterranean region. They came out in favour of reducing tensions in that area of the world, against actions liable to aggravate the situation.

The ministers went on record for a successful completion of the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the Soviet people's and the Soviet leadership's gratitude for Greece's solidarity and aid in connection with the earthquake in Armenia.

Meets Frontline States Officials

LD0901155389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1018 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 9 Jan (TASS)—E.A.Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met Benjamin Mkapa, foreign ministers of Tanzania; Nathan Shamuyarira, foreign minister of Zimbabwe; Fernando Van Dunem, Angolan minister of justice; Antonio Materrula, state secretary for foreign affairs of Mozambique, and Peter Kasanda, a Zambian delegate to the Paris conference. During the conversations there was an all-around discussion of the situation concerning a settlement in southern Africa and of the state of affairs regarding the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia.

Comments Prior to Departure

LD0901154689 Paris Domestic Service in French 1500 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Paris for Moscow this afternoon on board a special flight after attending the Conference on Chemical Weapons. Before his departure he replied to journalists' questions on the Libyan chemical factory, stating: We discussed this with George Shultz; the U.S. secretary of state showed me building plans, but that does not prove anything. The head of Soviet foreign affaris added: I told him that these were serious accusations, and that proof is required.

Returns 9 January

LD0901233989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze returned from Paris to Moscow today. He was met at the airport by Comrade Slyunkov and other officials. [video shows Slyunkov welcoming Shevardnadze at the airport]

Security Council Continues Debating Libya Incident

LD1001001789 Moscow TASS in English 2132 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 9 TASS—On Monday the U.N. Security Council continued at its meeting to examine the question on destruction by U.S. fighters of two Libyan warplanes which were on an ordinary patrol mission in international air space.

The Ethiopian delegate pointed out that the attack on the Libyan planes followed a campaign of threats against Libya which was launched in the United States. This campaign resembles threats before the U.S. air raid on the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Banghazi on April 15, 1986. He pointed to a special responsibility which the great powers should bear in maintaining peace and noted that the arguments offered to justify the action, did not look very convincing. Now the question is whether it is possible to protect sovereignty of all countries in the world, said the Ethiopian representative. The Sudanese representative denounced the attack by the U.S. jets on the Libyan planes.

The Security Council should ensure observance of the U.N. Charter which rejects the use of force in relations between states and seek a relaxation of tension in this region, said the Moroccan delegate. In his speech the Finnish representative spoke out for the need to draft an appropriate international code of conduct of naval and air forces to avoid similar incidents.

The French delegate expressed regret at the incident and noted that at a time when a relaxation of tension was taking place in the world, the Mediterranean region should not be an exception. Wisdom and the spirit of peace should prevail in this question. France, a Mediterranean country, is especially interested in maintaining stabiity and peace in the region, he said, and insistently called on each side to refrain from actions which lead to an aggravation of the situation.

The task of the Security Council, the Indian delegate noted, is to prevent an escalation of tension in the region and such developments which would be a serious threat to international peace and security.

Further on Belonogov Remarks

PM0901085589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch under general heading "Decisive Condemnation of Air Piracy": "Security Council Session"]

[Text] New York, 6 Jan—UN Security Council meetings convened at Libya's request to discuss an act of air piracy—the attack by U.S. fighters on Libyan aircraft—have begun. The overwhelming majority of speakers decisively condemn the U.S. actions.

An observer of the Arab League and the leader of the Ivory Coast delegation to the United Nations voiced a resolute protest against the actions of the Pentagon in the Mediterranean. A. Muntasir, Libyan charge d'affaires ad interim to the United Nations, has described the actions of the American pilots as an unprovoked act of overt aggression which could prove to be a prelude to extensive, dangerous aggressive action. He demanded the adoption of a special resolution condemning the U.S. actions in this incident which, according to him, cannot be regarded in isolation from the general thrust of American policy in the Mediterranean region.

The Libyan representative resolutely refuted the U.S. accusations that Libya intends to produce chemical weapons, reminding people that slanderous disinformation campaigns have been employed by the United States in the past to conceal aggressive actions against his country.

H. Okun, U.S. deputy permanent representative to the United Nations, said without a moment's hesitation that the United States and not Libya should be considered the "injured party" in this episode. His speech amounted to a repetition of the Pentagon's justifications, the aim of which is to portray the actions of the Libyan pilots as "aggressive" and those of the Americans as purely defensive.

A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the United Nations, expressed extreme concern over the incident off the Libyan coast. He pointed out that the military action undertaken by the United States does not in any way fit in with the promising processes now prevailing in the international arena. It is clearly contrary to the tendency toward moving the Near East settlement process away from deadlock. It seems as if these prospects, emerging also thanks to the start of U.S.-Palestinian dialogue, are not to some people's liking.

The USSR representative also noted that the tragic incident again brings to the fore the question of taking practical measures to consolidate security in the Mediterranean.

It is quite clear, however, that what happened in the Mediterranean goes beyond the limits of this one deplorable episode. This incident is one of many provocative "acts of retribution" by the United States against Libya in the last 8 years. I will remind the reader that the last such action took the form of a bomb attack on Tripoli and Banghazi in 1986, which led to the deaths of innocent people. The attack on the Libyan aircraft is one link in the chain of the United States' strong-arm pressure on Libya. The United States has assumed a self-styled right to decide for others what is good and what is bad in politics, chastise the recalcitrant, and administer justice and mete out punishment. Naturally, methods like these are causing just indignation among the world community.

Article Views Debate

PM0901150889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Review by S. Dardykin in Moscow and A. Shalnev in New York: "Security Council Discusses the Incident Above the Mediterranean: Necessary Defense, the United States Claims. Deliberate Attack, Libya Insists"]

[Excerpt] For the second successive day the UN Security Council, convened at Libya's request, is examining the incident in the air above the Mediterranean. For the 2d successive day there is sharp criticism of the United States, which, it was noted at the session, committed an act of aggression, using "strong-arm law," as one delegate put it.

It must be noted that in 2 days of debates in the Security Council, not a word has been uttered by the Western allies of the United States. In the corridors their representatives make it clear that for the time being they are collecting information about what happened, "so as to obtain a full picture."

At the session on Friday A. Belonogov, the USSR's permanent representative to the United Nations, spoke, among other delegates. Even if the system that exists in Libya is not to the liking of some people in the United States, he said, today's interconnected and interdependent world requires self-imposed restrictions and the total exclusion of the use of force, first and foremost on the part of those who possess particularly great strength. According to the Soviet representative, "the tragic incident once again brings urgently to the fore the question of adopting practical measures to strengthen security in the Mediterranean.... The Soviet side has no need to

keep the USSR Navy in the Mediterranean on a permament basis. If the United States were to withdraw its fleet from the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union would speedily do the same."

How does the U.S. delegation react to what is happening? This is what IZVESTIYA's New York correspondent, who is following the Security Council debates, reports on this point: It was curious, he said, to watch General Walters, the permanent U.S. representative at the United Nations. He was scarcely listening to what was said, or he was pretending not to listen. During the debates the general was either exchanging animated rejoinders with his aides, doodling on a sheet of paper in front of him, or examining his own fingernails with intense attention. With the whole of his appearance Vernon Walters was making it clear that he is finds this session boring and the delegates' speeches simply do not interest him.

When it was his turn to speak, the U.S. envoy did not deem it necessary to offer explanations. We are not, he said, disposed to listen to lectures on terrorism from a state like Sandinist Nicaragua or lessons on international law from military or civil dictatorships or one-party systems. The general then showed the participants in the session two photographs which, he said, showed one of the two Libyan planes and which prove that the planes were armed with missiles. Armed means dangerous, and therefore they were shot down—that was the logic put forward by Walters.

The Libyan representative called the photographs shown by the Americans a forgery. [passage omitted]

'International Situation' on Current Issues

LD0601182689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 6 Jan 89

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Andrey Ptashnikov, foreign policy commentator, with Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev, TASS military observer, and commentators Yuriy Isayev and Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Excerpt] [Ptashnikov] Hello, comrades! This is our first broadcast in the new year; so far there have been no letters in the mail dated this year. This is, of course, natural. But there are still quite enough of those you sent at the end of last year, and many of them are linked with Soviet-U.S. relations, particularly with the two countries' military policy. In particular, questions keep arriving regarding Comrade Gorbachev's December speech in the United Nations, in which he announced, among other peaceful initiatives of our country, the USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces and conventional weapons. The overwhelming majority of letters contain full support for these new and constuctive steps of the Soviet Government and express confidence that they will promote further improvement of the international situation; they also express the hope that the NATO member states, in particular the United States, will follow the example of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, some of our radio listeners, for example Grigoriy Sergeyevich Latyshev, from the village of Korsakovo in Orel Oblast; Petr Pavlovich Polyakov, from Tambov; Nikolay Nikitovich Gusev, from the town of Vichuga in Ivanovo Oblast, and a number of others stress in their letters that the United States continues to arm itself and to implement in particular plans for the militarization of space. Apprehension is expressed in this connection: Will the USSR's unilateral steps in the sphere of disarmament not damage the defense capability of both our country and that of our Warsaw Pact allies? I think you agree with me, comrades, that it is best if a specialist answers these questions. This is why I invited Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev, TASS observer on military affairs, to whom I give the floor. So, Vladimir Nikolayevich, by what was the Soviet leadership guided in making the decision on the unilateral reduction of its troops and armaments?

[Chernyshev] The restructuring which has encompassed all aspects of the life of the Soviet people could not, quite naturally, but affect military policy. I think that in this military restructuring the most important thing is the introduction of a rational, realistic, and if you like economically rational approach to safeguarding the country's security. In the first place, it is now clear that security cannot be ensured by military means alone, by use of arms, intimidation, and by a continual buildup of military potentials. There is only one path toward stability: a reduction in the level of military confrontation, and a reduction in military potentials in the direction of sensible sufficiency. There is another reason. All of us have somehow gotten used to the fact that the more weapons we have, the more comfortable and secure we should be. This is why we have not been very worried about how much is being spent on this security. But the arms race is damaging the economy to a point beyond which it will start falling apart, and this threatens the country's security. The realization of this led to a new and practical conclusion for us. Foreign military policy should ensure the possibility of releasing additional opportunities for improving the situation inside the country, first and foremost in the socioeconomic sphere. Only then it is possible to consider this a rational and effective policy.

Having carried out a profound analysis of the situation that has arisen, the Soviet leadership has arrived at the conclusion that the Soviet Union is able to take certain unilateral measures without waiting for specific accords on mutual reductions of troops and armaments in the coming talks with the NATO countries on this problem.

[Ptashnikov] But this solution is being met not only with support in our country. It causes apprehension among some people, evidence of which is, in particular, found in the letters from our listeners to which I referred earlier. So, are we not disarming ourselves unilaterally?

[Chernyshev] I think these apprehensions hardly have a realistic basis. This is only a reflection of the very same ideas of security about which I have already spoken. A new military doctrine has been adopted in our country in the period of restructuring, and it is a defensive one in both form and content. Strictly speaking, in content it was defensive in the past, too. But in its form that was

not the case at all. Our strategy envisaged offensive actions as the basic type of combat action in warding off an aggression from outside. This determined both the structure and the deployment of our Armed Forces, first and foremost in the region of central Europe. Now it is defense that should be the basic standard in warding off attack. The announced reduction is the first step toward restructuring our Armed Forces in such a way that excludes the possibility of deploying them in sudden, large-scale offensive operations. In the end the quantity, strength, deployment, and other parameters in our armaments arsenal will be providing a reliable defense. But at the same time they will not be provocational or cause the other side apprehension over its own security. Consequently, the opposite side will not have a reason to build up its military power.

I will recall that qualitative changes will be carried out in the Soviet Armed Forces, in the first place in the region of contact with NATO. By setting up a zone of reduced armaments, from which a significant quantity of conventional weapons considered as offensive is being removed, our country in practice is removing the anxiety of certain circles in West European countries with regard to the nature of the concentration of Soviet troops. Another worry of the opposite side, whose representatives have on more than one occasion stated that it is threatened by the troops of not only the first, but also of the second echelon located in the European part of the USSR, has also been taken into account. They are allegedly able to move rapidly toward the front line and to boost the success of the first echelon of the attacking troops. Our unilateral step affects the second echelon, too. The number of troops and the corresponding quantity of armaments in the entire European part of the USSR are being reduced. Apart from this, the concentration of forces in the Asian part of the country will be substantially reduced, too. In this way the Soviet Union clearly shows the seriousness of its intentions and shows that its words about the restructuring of the Armed Forces on the principles of sufficiency and a strictly defensive doctrine are not diverging from practical deeds.

[Ptashnikov] So in the future our country will continue unilaterally to bring its Armed Forces into line with the principles of defensive doctrine and sensible sufficiency.

[Chernyshev] This question has been answered on more than one occasion by high-ranking Soviet military representatives. A complete implementation of all these principles is only possible bilaterally, that is simultaneously on the part of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This is why the Soviet Union and its allies are so persistently striving for the start of talks with NATO on a reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. They are convinced that the priority task of these talks is a radical reduction of the military potentials of both alliances and the achievement on the continent of a situation under which the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries will be left only with the strength and means that are necessary for defense but which are insufficient for carrying out a sudden attack or conducting offensive operations. It is the Soviet Union whose unilateral measures should impart a powerful impetus to the process of lowering military confrontation in Europe. They will make it possible to resolutely advance toward the achievement of an agreement in principle on a radical reduction of the armed forces and armaments by the first stage of the forthcoming talks. At the same time it is necessary to emphasize that our unilateral reduction is a kind of advance at the future talks and our contribution to European disarmament. Although the reductions in the Soviet Armed Forces will not be carried out in connection with the talks and although they are not accompanied by any kind of preliminary conditions, they cannot, without doubt, fail to have an impact on the results of the first stage of the talks, which will be dealing with the mutual elimination of imbalances and asymmetries in individual spheres, because these reductions will introduce substantial changes into the correlation of current armed forces in Europe.

[Ptashnikov] What is it possible to expect, in reality, naturally, from the Western side in response to the Soviet initiatives?

[Chernyshev] In making decisions on unilateral reductions, we are undoubtedly counting on responsive steps on the part of the United States and NATO as a whole.

In the interests of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe, even before the achievement of an accord on mutual reductions of conventional armaments and armed forces, the United States and other NATO countries could reduce their conventional weapons in Europe, especially those where there is an imbalance in their favor. The Soviet Union sets an example for its partners in future talks—the example of implementing measures for eliminating certain imbalances and asymmetries even before they are adopted, so that favorable conditions can be created for progress even in the first stage of these talks. For example, if one is to follow the logic of the elimination of these imbalances, then NATO could start reducing its offensive tactical air forces.

At the same time, it seems, our initiatives should also promote progress toward nuclear disarmament, including the commencement of talks on a reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. It is obvious that progress on the path of a profound reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and giving a strictly defensive character to the troops deployed there removes any kind of grounds for retaining tactical nuclear means in military arsenals. This in essence cuts short the arguments of the supporters of nuclear deterrence. The attempts by certain NATO circles to plan additional arming in the nuclear sphere, to compensate by this or another way for the U.S. intermediate-range missiles now being eliminated in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty, must now, of course, look simply ridiculous.

If one is to speak in general, then at present it is possible to claim with complete confidence that the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe is one of the key problems in the struggle for disarmament. Its solution, or as a minimum noticeable progress on this question in the very near future, will also promote progress in other main disarmament directions.

[Ptashnikov] Thank you, Vladimir Nikolayevich.

[Passage omitted: Ptashnikov answers a question from a teenager from Kuybyshev Oblast on whether the new Palestinian government has yet been formed and the border of the new state determined. A listener from Ivanovo Oblast asks if there is any private sector in Yugoslav agriculture and if so, what proportion it holds. A listener from Ashkhabad asks whether the situation in Yugoslavia and in particular Kosovo has been normalized. Ptashnivkov quotes TANJUG on the resignation of the Yugoslav Government. Yuriy Isayev answers a question from a listener from Mordovia who wants to know why Pinochet will not be nominated in the coming elections in Chile. A listener from Vologda Oblast wants to hear about the International Monetary Fund. Ptashnikov traces the history of founding the IMF. A listener from Rostov Oblast writes that the FRG long ago paid thousands of millions dollars to the Jews, the victims of fascism, and wants to know what the total of these payments is. Konstantin Patsyuk notes that not only Jews, but also representatives of other nations from various countries suffered at the hands of the Third Reich. These people should be compensated, too. A listener from Kazan wants to hear in detail about Taiwan. Ptashnikov provides a brief review of its history.]

Shishlin Assesses 'Breakthrough' of 1988

LD0801214189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Jan 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Hello, comrades. The first days of 1989 are a time for assessing the past year. I must say that despite the variety of political tastes and convictions, these assessments do not differ very much this time. Politicians with differing political views generally agree that last year was a year of breakthrough. This is actually a key word. Let us ask the question—a breakthrough from what to what? I believe it was a year of breakthrough from the cold war to a true period of peace or, in other words, a year of breakthrough from the protracted postwar period to a period of peace.

Let us ask another qustion: What is the nature of the year's breakthrough in material terms? I believe that, first of all, it comes down to the fact that we now have an integral philosophical concept of the essence of contemporary social development. This concept was expounded in the fullest and most concentrated form in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from the rostrum of the United Nations. It is characteristic that, whereas in the first weeks and days after that speech politicians, political scientists, and journalists were devoting their attention to the specific and practical considerations Mikhail Sergeyevich expounded. Now more attention is being addressed to precisely this philosophical part of the speech. This is quite natural because this is a program for buiding a nuclear-free, nonviolent world; this is a program for a readjustment of international relations which would accord with the understanding of the contemporary world as a single human civilization.

Second, I believe that the nature of the year's breakthrough consists in the fact that dialogue between countries that adhere to various social views has now taken on a worldwide character. What I have just said completely applies to the Soviet Union. It is important that this dialogue is now acquiring new qualities. This dialogue is not now one of finding out who was right or who was wrong, and this dialogue is addressed not to yesterday but to tomorrow.

From this I come to the third feature of the nature of this past year's breakthrough. This is the fact that there are practical results. There are practical results already. We become accustomed to good things very quickly, and the successful implementation of the treaty on INF missiles, on the elimination of these missiles, is now taken for granted, but this is in fact a breakthrough, a truly great breakthrough which will also affect the course of talks on strategic offensive weapons. It will affect the course of the talks on conventional weapons and on chemical weapons. These are really fundamental phenomena which also mark a definite breakthrough in the development of international relations.

Of course, while we are now reflecting on the past year and reflecting on what awaits us in the coming year—this year, in fact—we must not, of course, oversimplify the tasks. The tasks are very difficult, and there are many prejudices.

Incidentally, many questions are also being asked, including questions about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations. Our opponents are asking questions such as: You are cutting the numbers of your Armed Forces by 500,000, you are cutting your arsenal of tanks, artillery, and other military weapons by a considerable amount, but what verification will there be of these measures? They also say the Warsaw Pact still has an advantage over NATO. They also say that big ideas of eliminating the foreign debt of developing states appear not quite comprehensible to them, that whereas the developing countries' debt to the West comes to, shall we say, figures in the order of a trillion dollars and even a little more, the developing countries' debt to the Soviet Union comes to tens of thousands of millions of dollars.

So questions are being asked and, of course, politicians, military people, and economists must answer these questions, but we are also entitled to ask questions. We are entitled to put questions to those with whom we are now holding a dialogue. We can ask a question about the United States' activity in relation to Libya. This is a legitimate question because we are now living in a period in which we must both think and act in a new fashion, with two or three times as much responsibility.

Nonetheless, the changes are mounting, of course, and I think that this year will reinforce these features of a breakthrough, and I think that they have come right up to a major turning point in the development of international relations, if this turning point has not already been passed.

1988 Asia-Pacific Developments Reviewed

OW0601144289 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Report on interview with Mikhail Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given]

[Text] The year 1988 will soon be over. As usual, when a year comes to an end people review events which have taken place. They do not limit their review to the context of their family or work units. Whether from the viewpoint of the interests of mankind or from those of every individual on earth, this year has been of special and important significance. During the past year, these events have brought many new changes to life in the entire Asia-Pacific region. In this connection, our station reporter interviewed Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and asked him to evaluate 1988 from the viewpoint of the Asia-Pacific region.

Titarenko said: We notice that, as elsewhere in the world, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region is moving toward detente. It is heading for resolving complicated conflicts. We can see this by looking at the Afghan and Cambodian issues and the defusion of tension in the Korean peninsula. As for us Soviet people, the event which pleased us most during 1988 was the further implementation of the wide-ranging and far-reaching proposals made by our leader Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. During my meetings with foreign scholars and my visits to China, Japan, and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, there were indications that the people in those countries have come to realize that proposals by the Soviet Union to seek solutions for complicated issues were made not to further its own interests, but in the interest of mankind. These proposals will promote an atmosphere for cultivating mutual trust, consolidate each other's security, and broaden bilateral cooperation.

On the issue of developing bilateral relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region, how would you evaluate Soviet objectives?

Titarenko said: In the matter of developing and improving bilateral relations with South Pacific nations and ASEAN, I believe the steps taken by the Soviet Union in foreign policy have been very important. Of course Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan also has special significance. Although the Soviet and Japanese peoples have hoped to see an improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations during the last few years, it can be said that relations between the two countries have remained stagnant. In this respect, the results of Shevardnadze's visit indicated that a big stride has been made. We hope this has created a new atmosphere in Soviet-Japanese relations and allows an important issue to be placed on the agenda, namely, the possibility of the Soviet leader visiting Japan.

During discussions on bilateral relations, people have also mentioned Soviet-Chinese relations, and the renowned Sinologist and chairman of the All-Union Society of Sinology certainly would not overlook this subject.

Titarenko said: I believe an important factor in ensuring peace in Asia and the world is for the Soviet Union and China to reach a mutual understanding, maintain good-neighborly relations, and respect each other's interests, independence, and sovereignty. During this past year, tremendous progress has been made in this respect. It has been an enormous stride which will improve overall Soviet-Chinese relations. Currently the issue of holding a Soviet-Chinese summit has been placed on the agenda. This represents a very significant event. I can say that this summit will be an important step toward the actual execution of the new political thinking.

What about prospects for next year?

Titarenko: I feel optimistic about the Cambodian issue. All relevant parties in the conflict have began to adopt a more realistic approach and to recognize that only by balancing the interests of all relevant parties and through political means can there be a settlement. I hope Vietnam and China can improve their relations because this will have an important bearing on resolving the Cambodian issue. Of course I hope very much to see a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations during the new year. I hope the visit to China by our leader Gorbachev will be a success. My main wish is that the Soviet Union maintain peaceful, friendly, and good-neighborly relations with China and peoples of other countries.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze: U.S. Lacks 'Proof' of Chemical Plant

AU0901152189 Paris AFP in English 1514 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Paris, Jan 9 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said here on Monday that documents handed over by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz did not prove that Libya can produce chemical weapons.

Before boarding a flight for Moscow, Mr Shevardnadze said "the American secretary of state showed me construction plans, but that does not prove anything.

"I told him that these were serious allegations and that proof was needed."

Both Mr Shevardnadze and Mr Shultz have been attending the Paris chemical arms conference that has been overshadowed by U.S. allegations that a Libyan plant at Al-Rabtah, 60 kilometers (40 miles) from Tripoli, was to produce chemical weapons. Libya has denied the accusations.

"I added that the most important thing was to stabilise the situation after the air incident," the Soviet minister said in a reference to U.S. action in shooting down two Libyan fighters over the Mediterranean last Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Military Spending in Reagan Budget Addressed

LD0901211789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Among today's foreign reports, a telegram from Washington attracts attention. It says that it is precisely today that President Reagan will submit the draft federal budget for the financial year 1990 to Congress. It is worth recalling, perhaps, that the year will start on 1 October in the United States. This will be the eighth and the last draft budget developed and submitted by Reagan's administration. Precise details and figures contained in the document are not known yet, but news agencies have already reported on its main features and lines. I will ask my colleague Andrey Ptashnikov to speak about them:

[Ptashnikov] Yes, indeed, this will be the eighth draft budget for the country submitted by Reagan in his capacity as White House head. All eight draft budgets have a feature in common, or a line, as you have put it. This is an invariable increase in military spending and reduction in allocations for social programs.

Perhaps, comrades, such a description of the U.S. budgets sets your teeth on edge, but there is nothing I can do; I cannot go against the facts. They show that in the next financial year this tendency will be preserved, if the U.S. Congress does not introduce any radical changes in the draft budget, of course. But I will speak about that a bit later.

I will not tire you with a multitude of figures; I will say only that the document drawn up by the government proposes to increase allocations to the Pentagon by 2 percent more. The lion's share of this increase is to be used to further feed the Strategic Defense Initiative, which is the President's favorite brainchild.

In his routine address to the nation last Saturday, Reagan said that the increase in military spending is very small. Indeed, 2 percent does not seem a lot at first glance, especially if one takes into account the fact that in previous years the draft increase was 10 percent or more. But the President added that this 2 percent is of great importance for U.S. security. I will give another quotation from what Reagan said: We achieved realism in U.S.-Soviet relations and progress in the area of arms reduction from a position of strength, he stressed. Our defense budget will enable us to continue along the same path.

That is it. It turns out that the positive changes mentioned by the President have taken place exclusively thanks to his administration's policy of strength in relation to our country. And we thought it was because the new political thinking had not been lost on Washington officials. We seem to have been wrong. Moreover, as you see, Reagan calls on the future U.S. Government to follow the same path. Let us see to what extent it will listen to that advice.

Coming back to Reagan's last draft budget I will note that according to specialists it will be changed significantly by Congress, first of all because, as many congressmen think, the enormous budget deficit can be reduced only by reducing military spending. We should remember that next year's budget will be adopted when a new U.S. Government headed by Bush is in office. Bush has already stated that he has his own recommendations on this issue. We do not know what these recommendations are. Let us wait and see, especially as we do not have long to wait: George Bush will take office on 20 January.

Soviet Military Paper Profiles John Tower

PM0901111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[F. Smirnov profile of future U.S. Defense Secretary John Tower under the rubric "Features in a Political Portrait": "The New Chief of the Pentagon"]

[Text] As already reported, George Bush has announced that the post of defense secretary in his administration will be held by John Tower.

John Goodwin Tower was born on 29 September 1925 in Houston (state of Texas) to the family of a minister. During World War II he went to serve in the Navy as a 17-year-old volunteer and saw action in the Pacific for 3 years. After the war he graduated from Southwestern University and gained a master's degree at Southern Methodist University. He worked as a Sunday school teacher, an insurance agent, and a radio announcer. He lectured at Southwestern University.

In 1960 he became involved in political activity and nominated himself a candidate in the Senate elections from the state of Texas. It was during this period that

Tower became acquainted with Bush, who supported his election campaign. At that time Tower lost to Lyndon Johnson. However, when the latter was elected U.S. vice president in 1961, Tower—as a result of his victory in additional elections—succeeded in filling the position of senator thus vacated.

Tower spent 24 years in the Senate, 20 of them as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. In the later years he was chairman of this committee.

In 1985, Tower left the post of senator to head the group on strategic weapons at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, at President Reagan's request. At the end of 1986 he led the commission investigating the activities of the National Security Council in connection with the "Iran-Contra" scandal.

Tower's appointment as U.S. defense secretary has prompted various gossip and rumors in U.S. circles. No, no one is doubting the former senator's experience and competence in arms matters and military policy. It is rather a question of something else: the moral aspect of the candidate for Pentagon chief. The U.S. press, as if at some command, has suddenly recalled his two divorces and his ex-wife's accusations of a weakness for alcohol and the fair sex. The question of Tower's association with military contractors has also been raised.

According to information provided by the "Astrotex" (electronic equipment) military-industrial corporation, Tower has had an annual salary of $20,000 since 1986 as a member of its board of directors and another $25,000 per year as a consultant. The U.S. branch of the "British Aerospace" Company (which produces the "Harrier" aircraft with vertical takeoff and landing ability), "Martin-Marietta" (responsible for the technological developments of the MX and "Titan" missiles), "Textron" (which produces equipment for tanks, aircraft, and missiles), and the consultative firm "Hicks and Associates" also pay him an annual salary of $100,000. He gets $96,000 from the LTV Corporation (which produces components for transport aircraft and the "Shuttle" spacecraft) and $120,000 from "Rockwell International" (responsible for the B-1 bomber). The question naturally arises: Just how objective and impartial can the decisions of the defense secretary be when the interests of "his" firms are going to be affected?

The FBI has investigated the private life of the candidate to this high post and his associations with the military industry. The results presented to Bush evidently fully satisfied him and, when announcing Tower's appointment, he said: "Many rumors have proved to be unfounded. The investigation was thorough, and this question is now closed."

Since the very beginning of his political career Tower has distinguished himself as a person of extremely right-wing, conservative attitudes. He has spoken in favor of a constant buildup of U.S. military might and a tough policy in relation to the Soviet Union.

At a news conference following the announcement of Bush's decision, Tower mentioned a reduction in arms expenditure. At the same time, he also said that despite its smaller military expenditure the United States "must ensure itself the same—or even greater—military might."

Like a number of other appointments in the new administration, the nomination for defense secretary has to be approved by the Senate. According to Senator Nunn, the present chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the hearings on Tower's appointment will be held soon after 20 January—the day the new president is to be inaugurated.

U.S. Congressmen Arrive for Visit in Yerevan

LD0901182889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 9 January (TASS)—A delegation of U.S. congressmen led by Tony Coelho, deputy leader of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of Congress, arrived in Yerevan today.

The U.S. parliamentarians were received by Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, who thanked them for the help given by the United States in providing help [as received] to those who suffered as a result of the destructive earthquake which took place in the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic on 7 December last year. The prospective plans for cooperation with Soviet organizations in dealing with the consequences of the natural disaster were examined during a conversation between the congressmen and the heads of ministries and departments of the republic.

The U.S. parliamentarians visited the Yerevan Number 4 Children's Hospital and chatted with doctors and patients and handed over gifts to children injured in the disaster.

The delegation of U.S. congressmen visited the supreme patriarch, Vazgen I, catholicos of all the Armenians.

Commentary Views U.S. Reports on Soviet Threat

LD0801171089 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Excerpts] According to reports from Washington, many articles have appeared in the U.S. press which are verbose about new dangerous preparations by Moscow. Local observers believe that such articles are being inspired by the U.S. CIA. Here is a Mayak commentary with journalist-internationalist Igor Penchenko at the microphone:

From CIA outlines, articles, as it were, have been fabricated about the USSR building up its military potential, about the USSR's military preparations and this sort of thing. Of course there are sensational reports, such as those on, for example, the rise in the level of activity of Russian submarines in the world's oceans, or the construction in Russia of new suspicious radar stations. They even recall the statements, from a long time ago, of ex-Pentagon chief Weinberger, who claimed that the USSR was allegedly actively creating such armed forces

as would help it to attain the goal it had proclaimed: To spread its control and dominating influence throughout the entire world. [passage omitted] In this way Americans are being intimidated about Moscow's dangerous preparations, banking on them to take this fiction on trust. It is worth mentioning, in this connection, that the so-called Soviet threat was invented back in the thirties in Hitlerite Germany, as it began to prepare for a toal war to attain world domination. It would seem that this myth should have fallen to oblivion since then. However, as can be seen, it is tenacious. Why? There are different reasons, but the tides of the cold war are the main cause.

And now? U.S. Defence Secretary Carlucci complains that the Western public perceives that the Soviet military threat has become weaker. He admits frankly that he cannot offer any secret formula to overcome this change except to restore old myths—something which is occurring. The following has taken shape: Every time the U.S. Congress is to discuss the budget for the military, the propaganda machinery relaunches the myth about a Soviet threat.

A regular session of the U.S. Congress is to open at the end of January, and the hullaballoo about Moscow's dangerous preparations is already in swing. The inventions about the red danger are a trick, by means of which the United States circles with militarist leanings can give a green light to the United States' upgrading its armaments and creating and improving new mass destruction systems. [passage omitted]

China

Qian Says Summit Will Signify Normalization

PM0901115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Minister's Prediction"]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jan—On the eve of his official friendly visit to the SFRY PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen gave an interview to Yugoslav journalists accredited in Beijing.

Dwelling on the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, the minister said that if the preparations for the Soviet-Chinese summit are successful and it is held this year, this would signify the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC. Both sides view it as the establishment of relations of a new type. They are not going to return to the state of alliance of the fifties and confrontation of the sixties and seventies. These will be good-neighborly relations based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Academy of Sciences Delegation Leaves for China

OW0901085889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] A delegation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences led by President Marchuk left Moscow for Beijing on 4 January.

During its visit to China, an agreement on the basic orientation of scientific cooperation and contacts between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and its Chinese counterpart will be signed.

Members of the delegation include representatives from the Scientific Publishing House. They will hold an exhibition in late January of books published by the Scientific Publishing House in Beijing. The exhibition will be opened by Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Joint Enterprise With PRC Set Up in Tashkent

LD0801070589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Central Asia's first Soviet-Chinese enterprise is being set up in Tashkent. It will specialize in the production of thermos bottles, for which there is much demand in our country. Under a 10-year agreement, the joint enterprise will turn out a million of them a year. Preliminary estimates show that the marketing of the product will provide considerable profits for both sides.

Cooperation Projects With PRC To Continue

OW0901102389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 6 Jan 89

[From the Vremya newscast; Savitskiy video report]

[Text] The first project in Maritime Kray, a passenger bus station in Pogranichnaya Village, has been commissioned, constructed jointly by Soviet and Chinese specialists.

[Begin recording] [Savitskiy] This bus station was constructed in only 3 months. The Chinese specialists created the best facilities for passengers. The station will provide services for about 1,000 people daily. There is a spacious passenger hall, booking offices, control center, and even a small hotel. [video shows outside view of the station; interior; a hotel room] Chinese materials were used for its finishing work.

Representatives of Heilongjiang Province of China, which is a neighbor of Maritime Kray, arrived in Pogranichnaya Village for the commissioning of the bus station. [video shows Chinese and Soviet officials, spectators]

[V.M. Martynenko, identified by screen caption as general director of an unidentified association] This is our first joint project on the border. Many more plans await us, which have been included in the protocol. We now have a good joint proposal to organize freight transportation to and from China, which will include the establishment of joint transportation and dispatch enterprises. We have formed a group consisting of 60 people who will study the Chinese language and get to know the Chinese roads. In fact, we are now jointly building these roads with our Chinese comrades. We will also construct a recreation center, and are now discussing the construction of a medical clinic for the drivers. [end recording]

Interview With Head of PRC Science Delegation

OW1001091189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Dear friends, let us talk about the visit of a Chinese delegation to the Soviet Union. What is the name of the delegation? It is the China Science, Technology and Trade Delegation. We interviewed the head of this delegation, Professor (Wang Renshan) at the information consultation center under the Academy of Sciences of China. He said the following:

[(Wang Renshan)] "The purpose of our visit to the Soviet Union is to exchange technological experience and information on new achievements in scientific research with our Soviet counterparts, experts, and scholars at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and establish scientific and computer technology in the field of computer science. At the same time, we want to discuss the possibility for further developing cooperation between the science and technology professions of our two countries and further strengthen cooperation in the area of computer science as well as the possibility of trade cooperation. That is why our delegation is called a science, technology, and trade delegation."

What are the results of this visit after all? According to Professor (Wang Renshan), the results of this visit are very good. During the visit, the Chinese delegation signed letters of intent with the Moscow Research Institute of Cybernetics, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Siberian branch, and the Ukraine Academy of Sciences on carrying out joint scientific research work in the field of electronic computers, and on establishing a Soviet-Chinese joint venture engaging in scientific research into computer technology and production and sales of computers. The Chinese delegation also met with members of scientific and technological cooperatives, and signed letters of intent with them, nearly twice as many as those signed with state organizations.

The positive role that cooperatives play might help us to solve the problem of computer shortages. That would be a good thing, because the outcome of Soviet reform will directly hinge on the solution of this problem. What are the views of the Chinese guests on the prospects of solving this problem?

[(Wang Renshan)] "The Soviet Union has paid relatively great attention to the development of computer science and computer information science. In order to develop the technology of computer science, the Soviet Academy of Sciences recently made some organizational readjustments; the State has established several new research institutes and invested much in those institutes, which impresses us very much."

Professor, what would you talk about to your relatives and friends after returning to your country? Chinese delegation head professor (Wang Renshan) said the following:

[(Wang Renshan)] "I was impressed with the fact that the cities of the Soviet Union are beautiful and the Soviet people are very friendly. That the younger Soviet generation cherishes friendly relations between our two peoples especially impresses us very much. In our encounters with people on the buses, our associations with taxi drivers or hotel personnel, or our exchanges with our counterparts at the academies of sciences, we sense in them a wish to further develop the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. We, for our part, also want to promote friendly relations between people of our two countries."

Soviet Friendship Society's New Year's Message

OW0701132289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Dear listeners, let me introduce the first guest in our first program of the "(Wang Xiao) Half-hour" for 1989. He is Comrade (Sunkov), Soviet scholar and vice chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. He extends to you his New Year's greetings.

(Sunkov) said: I am pleased to have the opportunity to extend our warmest New Year greetings to our Chinese friends. The past year witnessed a new step toward the total normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and the restoration of the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The process of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations, which began a few years ago, is developing. We are happy to see that the volume of trade between the two countries is increasing, and that cultural and scientific exchanges are expanding. Visits by Soviet and Chinese delegations to each other's country have also been increasing. We have been gratified by the exchange of students, research fellows, and visiting scholars between the two countries. Both in China and the Soviet Union more and more Soviet and Chinese books have been translated. This has promoted better mutual understanding and trust. All of us here are looking forward to a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in the first half of 1989. This kind of meeting will play a major role in strengthening and developing Soviet-Chinese friendship and cooperation. The Soviets and our Chinese friends all place high hopes on the summit meeting by the top leaders of the two countries. Both the peoples of the Soviet Union and China worked very hard in 1988 for the further development of their countries. But they will work harder in 1989. The Soviets wholeheartedly desire world peace. We know that the Chinese also hope for world peace.

Comrade (Sunkov) continued: The peoples of the two countries are presently confronted with many similar tasks. Of course, there are also quite a number of differences, but there are many similar problems encountered in the economic reforms in the two countries. We agree that the Chinese people have made marked achievements in their reform in the past 10 years. The Soviets are studying the experiences of China and are proud of the achievements of the Chinese people.

Comrade (Sunkov), academician of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said in conclusion: Allow me to take this opportunity to wish, in the name of the Central Council

of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and a Soviet scholar, all our Chinese friends happiness and new outstanding achievements in building socialist China. Thank you.

Northeast Asia

Condolences Conveyed on Emperor Hirohito's Death

Akhamatov, Rogachev Sign Book

OW1001042989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Akhamatov, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Rogachev, vice minister of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, visited the Japanese Embassy in Moscow on 9 January to sign a condolence book opened after the death of the Japanese emperor.

Paper Prints Ryzhkov Message

PM1001100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[USSR Premier Ryzhkov's condolence message to Japanese Premier Takeshita on death of Emperor Hirohito]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Noboru Takeshita, prime minister of Japan

In connection with the death of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito of Japan I express my feeling of sorrow and sincere condolences.

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Prospects for Better Japanese Relations Reviewed

PM0901160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed "Viewpoint" feature comprising IZVESTIYA introduction and statements by Masamori Sase, professor at the Japan Defense Agency Military Academy, and Naoki Tanaka, chief of Japan's National Economy Institute Research Department: "USSR-Japan: Hopes and Doubts"—boldface passages are IZVESTIYA notes published in expanded format]

[Text] **Our perception of Japan and Japan's perception of us are not just far from identical; in many respects they are opposite. For us, our Far Eastern neighbor is a country of cherry blossoms, kimonos, and tea ceremonies shrouded in an aura of romance, a country whose diligent and industrious people make remarkable machines, television sets, videocassette recorders, and a mass of other articles needed by man, amazing the world with their tenacity, business acumen, and ability to skillfully conceal the ulcers of capitalism. For the Japanese, the Soviet Union is a vast, cold country full of bears, soldiers, and minerals, leading an exclusive life according to its own special laws, posing a constant threat to its neighbors, and amazing everyone by launching orbital stations into space despite its permanent difficulties.**

Policy, diplomacy, and journalism can be blamed equally for this imbalance of impressions. But reproaches will not alter the substance of the situation—our relations with Japan suffer from a shortage of sincerity and trust, from prejudice and caution, and it has not been possible to institute calm, full-blooded dialogue. However, an encouraging new trend capable of thawing the ice of estrangement has emerged, albeit still timidly for the time being.

Restructuring in our country has forced the whole world to take a fresh look at the Soviet Union. People's perception and assessment of our country have started to gradually change, casting off the shrouds of cliches and stereotypes. Japan cannot be listed among those who are in the vanguard of "the rediscovery of the USSR," and even now Tokyo's response to our initiatives and undertakings is perhaps the coolest, the most cautious, and the most skeptical among all Western countries. Nevertheless, there is movement, albeit only slight and at the level of nuances in general tone and newspaper vocabulary—but these nuances do exist, and this is important.

The Soviet foreign minister's recent visit to Japan focused the spotlight on these changes. Despite all the problems and difficulties in Japanese-Soviet relations, the atmosphere at and around the talks was quite different from that at previous meetings. It is not just a matter of the number of handshakes and smiles, it is a matter of the sides' general approach toward one another. Japanese specialists in Sovietology and the mass media, while agreeing in their positive assessment of the talks, express different opinions regarding the prospects for further contacts between Tokyo and Moscow.

S. Agafonov, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Tokyo, asked two eminent representatives of Japanese political science—Masamori Sase, professor at the Defense Agency Military Academy, and Naoki Tanaka, chief of the National Economy Institute Research Department, to share their opinions on this subject. Their statements are published in full, without any corrections.

M. Sase: A Few Theses on New Thinking in Soviet Policy

Pondering the results of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Japan in December and analyzing the state of Soviet-Japanese relations as a whole, I found myself in a rather complex mental state, for the following reason. The USSR's foreign policy has changed radically in many respects since General Secretary Gorbachev's advent in power. A striking activeness in foreign affairs has replaced the ossified and stagnant "Nyet" principle since the summer of 1985. People call it foreign policy of the new thinking. I admit—maybe more so than my other colleagues—the impact of the new thinking, primarily because I perceive its real and practical achievements in the last 3 years. There is no need to look far for examples: the global double-zero solution on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles achieved by the USSR and the United States; the radical progress in talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms; the reduction of Soviet Armed Forces in regions bordering the PRC; and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. We clearly perceive the manifestation of new thinking also in issues like placing the emphasis on the

elaboration of a defensive military doctrine and introducing the principle of rational sufficiency in arms in the context of international talks. Of course, the new thinking also underlies the Soviet leader's 7 December speech at the United Nations, in which an element was the decision on the unilateral reduction of conventional arms by the USSR and the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Warsaw Pact countries.

This constructive and flexible foreign policy by the Soviet Union is highly appraised in the Western world, including Japan, inspiring hope that it is possible to improve the international climate and to strengthen peace throughout the world. On the other hand, however, we cannot rest satisfied with a purely positive assessment of what is happening. This applies especially to our bilateral relations. Let me explain what I mean.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that, in contrast to the time of stagnation, the Soviet leadership in the era of restructuring has begun to attach considerably more importance to dialogue with Japan. It seems to me that this has been brought about by the new view of Japan, which was quite clearly formulated in Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech: "The Japanese seem to have proved that, in today's world, it is possible to attain the status of a great power without relying on militarism." I welcome this approach, and I am therefore doubly sorry that Soviet policy toward Japan has still not fully freed itself from Stalin's mistakes committed at the end of World War II or from the inertia of the stagnation times. The issue here is that, despite the fact that 43 years have passed since the end of the war, our countries have still not concluded a peace treaty because the territorial question remains unsolved.

Ever since the normalization of relations with the USSR in 1956, the Japanese Government has been demanding from the Soviet Union the simultaneous return of the islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Habomai, and Shikotan, which have been Japanese territory since time immemorial. Once this problem is resolved, Japanese-Soviet relations will acquire the stable base of a treaty, scope will open up for mutually advantageous contacts, and a major contribution will be made to the cause of world peace.

I must note that the Soviet Government's stance on this issue has not always been consistent. From the early seventies to the mid-eighties, for example, the formula was that "the territorial question has been resolved and no problems exist," which ran contrary to the spirit of the 1973 Japanese-Soviet statement. Furthermore, Soviet Armed Forces were again stationed in the Northern territories from the late seventies, and this sharply intensified mistrust toward the Soviet Union in Japan.

Over the last few years, in the era of restructuring, the notorious "Nyet" has disappeared from the Soviet stance. The Japanese side's arguments were calmly heard at the December talks and, furthermore, there was an extremely valuable discussion during which the Soviet representatives' stance on this issue was expressed. I think that this in itself is an encouraging manifestation of restructuring in USSR policy toward Japan. But this time again the Soviet side did not admit the fact that an unsolved territorial question exists in its pure form. I must admit that we find this difficult to understand: If two ministers hold different views on a given problem and discuss them, it means that the problem exists and must be recorded, but this is not happening. Unfortunately, the Soviet foreign policy of new thinking is evidently still selective, and it is necessary to eagerly await the day when this selectiveness will be abandoned.

Back in September 1988 I paid yet another visit, my 10th, to the Soviet Union, met many old acquaintances, and made quite a few new ones. What struck me was that the typical features of stagnation—stereotypes, self-justification, sermonizing, and so on—were absent in our contacts; we engaged in a frank exchange of opinions and expressed bold ideas. I saw for myself that restructuring is indeed changing your country's life. I would like to join my Soviet friends in the assessment that there is no alternative to restructuring, and I remain hopeful that the day will come when genuine constructiveness will become a typical feature of Soviet-Japanese relations. [Sase ends]

These are the opinions of Mr Sase, professor at the Military Academy. He cannot be accused of inconsistency, even though his approach—to use his own words—errs on the side of "selectiveness." Further comments could be made on the professor's statement, but it would appear more expedient to let the other Japanese guest of our rubric have his say.

N. Tanaka: Stumbling Block or Function?

During his recent visit to Tokyo USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze delivered for the first time a conceptual speech on foreign policy problems to representatives of Japanese political and business circles. During his 1-hour speech I noticed in particular a brief sentence which said that the Soviet Union and Japan have already proved to each other and have realized that they can manage without one another as partners. This sentence testifies that the minister and the Soviet side as a whole have a clear grasp of the state of affairs in Japanese-Soviet relations. Indeed, if you look at the entire package of bilateral ties, it is impossible to overlook the fact that, at the present stage, they are maintained at a largely symbolic level, at which political and economic contacts are distinguished by their paucity. It is an open secret that the idea of remedying this situation and building up all aspects of relations arouses no particular enthusiasm in Japan itself. What are the reasons?

I perceive the basic motives as lying in the economic sphere. First of all, Japan's industrial structure is undergoing major changes—it is becoming more energy-saving and is becoming more thrifty in raw materials utilization. Hence the sharp decline of Japan's interest in the import of natural resources, which could make the Soviet Union attractive. As regards Japanese exports of finished products to the Soviet market, Japan's business world has firmly-held opinions on this score, which boil down to the view that such exports would produce no tangible benefits and might entail serious trouble. The idea is that any promotion of exports to the Soviet market would cause a new outburst of contradictions with Japan's leading trade partners, and this would be extremely undesirable. Therefore Japanese companies

find it preferable to be last among Western countries in trade with the USSR rather than bringing upon themselves yet another round of protectionist actions. It is worth adding to this the good prospects in the Japanese domestic market, where there are expectations of a lengthy economic upswing and of increased demand for virtually all types of products, which would again reduce interest in foreign deals, especially in an unpredictable field like the Soviet Union. This last argument, by the way, fully applies to the idea of creating joint enterprises on Soviet territory.

An active debate is now under way about the development of economic relations between the USSR and South Korea, and some people assume that this ought to prompt Japanese companies into a more active quest for Soviet orders and contracts. The reply to this is that the South Korean card will have no substantial effect on Japan. If only because Japanese business circles find the establishment of multifaceted economic ties between the Soviet Union and South Korea desirable in principle. The reason behind this is simple. Such activeness would generate another revival of South Korea's economy and would accelerate the process of renewing material assets, technical procedures, technologies, and so on. By virtue of the existing structures, one-half of the amounts to be invested for these purposes would come to Japanese companies as profits, in payment for the import from Japan of equipment, machines, and industrial installations, without which there can be no modernization in South Korea.

I have dwelt on economic factors at such length because an analysis of these factors makes it possible to draw an obvious, and maybe rather surprising, conclusion: The Japanese Government's emphasis on the territorial question in relations with the USSR plays the role of a safety valve and performs the function of a regulator of bilateral contacts. It can be used to explain the small interest in the USSR within Japan itself, and also to explain to other Western powers the coolness in Soviet-Japanese relations.

The question thus arises: What are the real attitudes toward restructuring in Japan? In order to avoid misunderstandings, it must be said that, in my view, the majority of Japanese ardently hope that it will continue successfully in the Soviet Union, that it will help to develop pluralism of opinions, and that it will open up the USSR to the outside world. The Japanese would like to see Vladivostok not as a strictly controlled military port but as a bustling city where people can enjoy the blossom and look sympathetically on other people.

I translated Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and New Thinking" into Japanese. It sold very quickly all over the country—more than 140,000 copies were sold in 1 year. I know of one entrepreneur who even used it to radically reconstruct the management system in his firm and found this guide highly effective. But seriously speaking, we cannot fail to notice the favorable effect of restructuring on the international climate in the world. Thanks to it, contacts between different countries are being established at new levels and conflicts are being untangled.

This process will also reach us. When restructuring is successfully completed in the USSR, when the whole world starts marching step by step along the path of demilitarization, new relations between Japan and the Soviet Union will become possible on the basis of the principles of peace to which postwar Japan is comitted. [Tanaka ends]

Our readers have before them the statements of both our guests. We would be averse to giving preference to one of the two, even though the difference in their approach is obvious. Despite all this, neither item promises any swift progress in Soviet-Japanese relations. Indeed, lengthy, painstaking, and very responsible work still has to be done here, and its success will depend on efforts by both sides.

North Korean Paper Cited on Conference Proposal

PM0901120089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jan 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Realistic Step"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 2 Jan—The DPRK's proposal on convening a political consultative summit conference between North and South Korea, put forward in the New Year's speech of DPRK leader Kim Il-song, is a realistic step along the path to a solution to the problems of the Korean peninsula, that could be achieved on the basis of autonomy, peaceful unification, and national consolidation. The newspaper NODONG SINMUN, organ of the Workers' Party of Korea Central Committee, writes about this in an editorial.

The newspaper appeals to the DPRK public, as well as to patriotic forces in South Korea, to hamper any attempts by foreign and internal reaction to perpetuate the "two Koreas." Pointing to the American military presence in the South as the main obstacle on the path to unification, NODONG SINMUN stresses that the United States, on the basis of an analysis of the real situation in area, should review its approach to tackling the problems of that region. The newspaper calls on Washington to respond immediately and positively to the DPRK's proposal on holding trilateral talks on a settlement.

Drawing attention to the persisting military-political confrontation between North and South, NODONG SINMUN points out that if Seoul and Washington renounced the annual "Team Spirit" large-scale military maneuvers, this would be an effective step toward lessening that confrontation. This decision would be a natural confirmation of the desire of the other side to strengthen mutual trust, and would help to strengthen the Korean nation's unity, the newspaper writes.

Commentary on U.S.-South Korea Military Exercise

OW0901114189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Korolev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners and friends: The South Korean Government has decided to reduce the scale and shorten the duration of its joint military exercise, Team Spirit,

with the United States this year. In a report, YONHAP News Agency pointed out that the possibility of canceling this kind of joint military exercise from 1990 is also under study. In this connection, our station commentator Korolev writes:

The U.S.-Korean joint military exercises, codenamed Team Spirit, are held in spring each year. These large-scale military exercises are conducted along the coastal waters and territories of South Korea. As many as 200,000 men from the various services of each side take part in these exercises, including a large number of warships, aircraft, and fighting equipment. The troops conduct exercises on assault maneuvers and the use of nuclear weapons under realistic battle conditions. It is an open secret that such weapons are found in the southern Korean peninsula. Although the authorities in Seoul and Washington never mention which imaginary enemy this military exercise is aimed at, it is clear that it is the DPRK. The Team Spirit military exercise has been held every year since 1976. Until today, the objective of this exercise has not changed.

However, times have changed; people's approaches to assessing various international events are also changing. These days, the people in Seoul and Washington can no longer reject as before the constructive peace proposals put forth by the DPRK. One must realize that the decision taken by Seoul to reduce the scale of the Team Spirit military exercise, and the step taken to stop such military exercise in the future, are in response to Pyongyang's effort in this respect. Recently, the DPRK has put forth a series of new and important proposals, the purpose of which is to bring about a relaxation of tension in the Korean peninsula, and to promote contacts with South Korea in all directions. The authorities in Seoul have responded positively to many of Pyongyang's proposals. In this connection, South Korea has taken concrete steps—such as consultative organs in Seoul ordering South Korean businessmen to promote economic exchange with the DPRK. According to sources in Seoul, an organization for this purpose will be established in January. This measure reflects that South Korean businessmen now have the upper hand. They recognize that economic exchange with DPRK will promote reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between South and North Korea. South Korea's consultative organs for business circles will deal with all issues relating to economic exchanges with North Korea, including trade, joint investment in the north, and setting up South-North Korean joint ventures in third countries.

Our station commentator Korolev concluded: Judging from this news and other facts, a new political thinking is also developing and growing daily on the Korean peninsula.

North-South Korea Cooperative Developments Noted

PM0901105789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS reports under the rubric "From Abroad" and the general heading "The Only Realistic Way"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 5 Jan—Holding a political consultative conference of leading figures from North and South Korea is the only realistic way to solve the question of the country's reunification, Ho Tam, member of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the WPK Central Committee, and chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Motherland, said. Within the framework of this forum its participants would be able to hold multilateral talks and conduct a bilateral dialogue. In the opinion of the DPRK, it must discuss the question of forming a confederation of the north and south of the country as the most rational form at the present stage, making it possible to resolve the problem of reunification.

The statement said that the touchstone of Seoul's attitude to dialogue will be its decision regarding the question of conducting the joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" military maneuvers this year. This, the DPRK spokesman pointed out, will have a serious impact on the prospects for dialogue. In this connection he called for the earliest possible start to military-political talks between the sides in order to ease tension and achieve national concord in Korea.

Tokyo, 5 Jan—The South Korean Government has decided to reduce the scale and duration of this year's "Team Spirit" joint large-scale military maneuvers with the United States, the South Korean agency YONHAP has reported from Seoul. According to the agency, the possibility of terminating the maneuvers completely in 1990 is also being studied.

This decision has been taken in response to repeated calls from the DPRK to refuse to conduct the "Team Spirit" maneuvers. The annual maneuvers, which have been held in the south of the Korean peninsula since 1975, involve up to 200,000 soldiers and officers from the South Korean and U.S. Armed Forces.

ROK Develops Economic Ties With USSR, DPRK

PM1001104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

["Report From Moscow" by own correspondent G. Charodeyev plus "Dispatch From Pyongyang" by unnamed TASS correspondent under the general heading: "Trade Will Out? Economic Contacts With South Korea"]

[Text]

Report from Moscow

"We already have trading relations with South Korea at the level of chambers of commerce and industry and such foreign departments as the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and Ministry of the Fish Industry. Our ships have started putting in there now. We are in favor of the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula. It is said that wherever people trade they refrain from shooting. We therefore consider that the work we are now carrying out with South Korea is entirely beneficial to the region and is helping to stabilize the situation there...."

(Extract from a reply given by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, to a question asked by a correspondent of the Japanese newspaper ASAHI at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center).

The editorial office asked the foreign relations administrations of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry to provide more detailed information.

The Ministry of the Maritime Fleet explained to us as follows: "The development of ties with South Korea dates from 1988. Talks were held in Seoul in December during which we notably achieved an accord that Soviet ships may put in unhindered at South Korean ports and, conversely, South Korean ships may put in at Soviet ports. The following is just one new example: Several of our ships have been repaired at the Hyundai Shipyard. The standard of the repair work is high and we are happy with it. There is sufficient interest among both countries' maritime enterprises to develop mutually beneficial cooperation."

The Ministry of the Fish Industry reported as follows: "Our ministry has entered into its first contact with representatives of South Korean business circles. Preliminary talks were held with representatives of a number of South Korean companies over a period of 10 months in 1988. What follows is an incomplete list: Lucky Goldstar International Corporation, Korea Trade Promotion Corporation, Soko [name as transliterated] Corporation, Friendship Shipping, and others. We consider the following to be the priority areas of potential cooperation with South Korea: The organization of the repair of Soviet ships in the ports and shipyards of South Korea on a commercial basis; the creation of joint enterprises on Soviet and South Korean territory to catch, process, and sell fish and marine products; engineering and technical cooperation, including equipment for catching fish and the technology for processing fish and marine products; the manufacture of canning and packaging equipment, navigation and exploration equipment; and computers. One might also add that the South Korean side shows great interest in engaging in the fishing and marine products industry in the Soviet economic zone on a commercial basis."

Your correspondent was informed at the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry that a group of representatives of South Korean business circles is making its first-ever visit to Moscow during the first 10 days of January. It is expected that a number of important documents establishing trade and economic ties between our two countries will be signed.

Finally, Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev said when describing E.A. Shevardnadze's recent trip to the DPRK: The talks in Pyongyang touched on the question of Soviet relations with South Korea. We explained our reasons for developing trade and economic ties with that country and confirmed that official recognition of the South Korean authorities or establishment of diplomatic relations with them do not enter into our plans.

Dispatch from Pyongyang

The South Korean Federation of Korean Industry and South Korean business circles intend to establish a consultative organ designed to actively promote economic exchanges with the DPRK.

YONHAP reports from Seoul that this consultative organization will be set up after the conference of leaders of business circles takes place this January. This step reflects the prevailing recognition among businessmen of the fact that economic exchanges with the DPRK will promote reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between the South and the North, and stems from the recently increased opportunities to expand dialogue between the two parts of Korea.

The consultative organ will take charge of all questions concerning economic exchanges with the North, including trade, joint capital investments in the North, and joint North-South enterprises in third countries. According to the South Korean Federation of Korean Industry, business circles consider that economic exchange with North Korea will be beneficial.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reactions to SRV Cambodia Pullout Announcement

Timetable For Withdrawal Aired

LD0601150289 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Phnom Penh January 6 TASS—Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the Kampuchean Council of Ministers, made a statement to Kampuchean and foreign journalists here on Friday. He set out the position of the Kampuchean and Vietnamese governments on a settlement of the Kampuchean question and elucidated the new initiative by Kampuchea and Vietnam concerning the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea.

The Kampuchean leader said that in case a political settlement of the conflict is reached, the Vietnamese volunteer units will be withdrawn no later than September 1989. If the opposition groups abstain from reaching understandings, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops will be carried out during 1990.

PRK Ambassador on Withdrawal

LD0701184689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; 7 January statement by People's Republic of Kampuchea Ambassador Hor Nam Hong; place not given; Hor Nam Hong speaks in Cambodian, except where indicated, fading into superimposed Russian translation—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear Soviet friends [preceding three words in Russian]: Ten years ago—on 7 January 1979—the genocidal Pol Pot regime was overthrown. The Cambodian

people were liberated, but the country was completely devastated. Since then our people and its People's Revolutionary Army have been conducting an intense struggle to defend and rebuild the country. Although there are still many difficulties and the enemy refuses to leave us alone, the results achieved in all spheres of life in this time have strengthened the foundations of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK]. The output of rice has increased three-fold, and in line with the program for economic development between 1985-90, adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the production of rubber is increasing, as is the output of fish and timber.

Public education has undergone substantial development. Nowadays one in four of the country's population goes to a school or an institute. Side by side with these results, of which our people are rightly proud, we should note the impressive successes of the People's Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, which have allowed Vietnamese volunteers to be withdrawn every year since 1982. The seventh withdrawal—of 50,000 troops in 1988—was recently completed. This provides irrefutable proof that our Armed Forces can take their place, and in the future bear the responsibility for defending the homeland.

By agreement with the SRV, the PRK has decided that the Vietnamese volunteers should be completely withdrawn in 1990. But, desirous of achieving national reconciliation for the sake of its revival, our country is prepared—within the framework of a political settlement—for a complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers earlier than scheduled. We have suggested this to other interested parties at various forums in Jakarta and France. Inasmuch as the dialogue is already under way—something that is a step forward in the search for a political settlement—we hope the other parties will respond positively to our proposals, which are filled with sincerity and goodwill. The sooner this happens, the better it will be for the Cambodian people and the whole of Southeast Asia.

Dear friends, permit me to take this opportunity to thank the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and the fraternal Soviet people for their active support and all-round help for our people. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the government, and the Kampuchean people back all of Comrade Gorbachev's peace proposals and their noble aim of international detente and a more stable peace. I wish you all a fine and happy year. Thank you for your attention. [preceding five words in Russian]

Radio Observer Comments

BK1001015489 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Station observer on Cambodian situation]

[Text] For the purpose of speeding up the political resolution of the Cambodia issue, the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops will take place no later than September this year. This was announced by a representative of the Vietnamese Foreign Minister at a news conference held for foreign journalists on 6 January. In this connection, a Radio Moscow observer has this to say:

More than 2 weeks have elapsed since the conclusion of the withdrawal from Cambodia of 50,000 troops of the limited Vietnamese forces in that country. The pullout has thus effectively reduced by half the number of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia. At that time, Hanoi and Phnom Penh repeated that all Vietnamese troops will be pulled out of Cambodia no later than the first months of 1990. Now, a new deadline has been set: The last Vietnamese combatants will leave Cambodian territory no later than September 1989.

It should be said that this eloquent gesture of goodwill is highly significant for the prospects for an early solution to the Cambodian issue. What influence will the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces have on the Cambodian situation? This is by no means an irrelevant question. It has been discussed before, in Bogor last July, for example, when the four Cambodian parties held their first informal meeting with the participation of the countries concerned. In Bogor, it was affirmed that a Vietnamese troops pullout might lead to the danger of restoring in Cambodia the genocidal Pol Pot regime which was overthrown in January 1979. This means that simultaneously with a Vietnamese troops withdrawal, effective measures must be adopted to eliminate that possibility. This question is no less pressing today; we can say that it is even more pressing now, in view of the planned early Vietnamese troops pullout from Cambodia. This is because Pol Pot troops, also known as the Khmer Rouge, are a large force, composed of components of no less than 3,000 men each. According to many reports the leaders of this clique have drawn up plans to seize power in Cambodia by military force. Their ambitions are bolstered by the generous military aid the Khmer Rouge are receiving from foreign countries, and we should not rule out a situation wherein groups of armed Khmer Rouge may still use some bases on foreign soils, as they did in the past.

Therefore, it is urgent that necessary measures be adopted in advance to prevent the Pol Pot clique from taking advantage of the situation to further its own interests. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's statement said: The forthcoming withdrawal of Vietnamese troops must be accompanied by a cease-fire, the cessation of military aid, and an end to the use of foreign territory to interfere in Cambodia's internal affairs. The realization of these conditions should be guaranteed by effective international supervision.

Further Radio Comment

BK1001034589 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] In its 8 January issue PRAVDA carried a Soviet Foreign Ministry statement saying that a major new step has been made in the advance toward the settlement of one of the most complex regional conflicts in Southeast Asia. At a solemn meeting held in Phnom Penh on 6 January, marking the 10th anniversary of the PRK's

founding, the top leaders of Cambodia and Vietnam stated that to speed up the settlement of the Cambodia issue, the two countries had agreed to withdraw all Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia by September 1989 at the latest, if a political solution is achieved. This means that the complete withdrawal must be accompanied by a cease-fire, by foreign countries' cessation of military aid and prevention of Cambodian opposition parties' use of their territory, and by an end to interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. The political solution itself must be implemented under effective international supervision.

The Soviet Union welcomes and fully supports this important fresh move by Cambodia and Vietnam, which conforms to the current developing world trend of settling regional conflicts through negotiations. The PRK and Vietnam have once again expressed their good will and determination to seek a comprehensive solution for Indochina in which the Cambodian people's fundamental aspirations are respected and the regional realities are taken into consideration. The statement by the two countries' leaders has opened up new prospects for eliminating this hotbed of regional tensions right in this year. As the Soviet Union has stated, this opportunity should not be passed up. We hope that all the parties in the conflict and the countries concerned will carry out their vital duty in ensuring that no fratricidal war breaks out again and that the genocidal Pol Pot regime is not restored in any form after foreign troops are withdrawn from Cambodia.

For its part, the Soviet Union will continue to make active contributions to achieving a political solution in this part of the world. What is important is how to ensure that the new, constructive initiative of Cambodia and Vietnam will be responded to with similar steps by all those who are really interested in creating an atmosphere of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

Vietnamese Spokesman Cited

PM1001095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "New Initiatives"]

[Text] Hanoi, 7 Jan—Having set forth the essence of the accords between the SRV and the PRK, Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokesman Ho The Lan stressed at a meeting with foreign journalists here that the Vietnamese volunteers' forthcoming withdrawal from Kampuchea should be accompanied by a cease-fire and the renunciation of the provision of military aid and territory for outside interference in the PRK's internal affairs. The fulfillment of the accords must be ensured under international control.

PRK 10th Anniversary Celebrations Continue

Interview With Heng Samrin

LD0601201189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1546 GMT 6 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] The national holiday of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the 10th anniversary of liberation from the rule of the Pol Pot regime, is being marked today, comrades. Yevgeniy Kochanov, our correspondent, has had a short interview with Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and president of the republic's Council of State; and I want to present this interview for your attention now.

[Begin Heng Samrin recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] The 10-year phase of the revival of the Cambodian nation, which began on the day of the country's liberation on 7 January 1979 and is continuing at present, is a decade of trials, and of the successful and consistent fulfillment of the policy selected by the KPRP. The party boldly took upon itself the government of the country after the rout of the Pol Pot genocide regime. You know that it inflicted enormous damage on our whole society. The material and technical base, which was not all that powerful anyway, and the social and political structure, which was only just beginning to really take shape, were destroyed.

Now the Cambodian revolution has entered a qualitatively new phase of its development, when its forces are themselves determining the destiny of their country, a phase of struggle and negotiations, which demands of all the people a high level of soldarity and stable unity. It is necessary consistently to develop the economy and raise the people's standard of living. These are the fundamental problems of our development. We are faced with the task of strengthening solidarity among all strata of society and all the nationalities of Kampuchea living both in the country and abroad. We ardently welcome the help of fraternal, friendly countries, the international community and all those who do not want a repetition of the tragedy and are in favor of the construction of a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral and nonaligned Cambodia.

Relying on our revolutionary achievements and acquired experience, on our own efforts in determining our country's destiny, on the ties of solidarity of the three countries in Indochina, as well as on solidarity with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist and friendly countries, with international organizations and the peoples of the whole world, we believe firmly in the final victory of the Cambodian revolution. [end recording]

Heng Samrin Publishes Article

PM1001101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) and chairman of the PRK State Council: "Glorious Accomplishments"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, Jan—Tomorrow is the PRK's national holiday. The historic victory won 7 January 1979 saved the Cambodian people from Pol Pot genocide.

However, after the country's liberation the revolutionary power was faced with numerous problems inherited from the old regime. Moreover, the country had to be rehabilitated under conditions of fierce counterrevolutionary intriguing on the part of its enemies.

So 1979 saw the beginning of Cambodia's socioeconomic rebirth. It was first necessary to put an end to famine and disease, provide people with a roof over their head, and decide the fate of hundreds of thousands of orphans. Destroyed and pilfered property and equipment from plants and factories was gradually gathered together through the efforts of the revolutionary authorities, and its storage and distribution to enterprises were organized. Famine was on the whole eliminated in 1980—this was of tremendous significance. Together with the introduction of currency circulation, this helped create the requisite conditions for reviving economic and production activity.

In 1982 we began implementing annual socioeconomic plans, and by 1983 we had achieved a level of food production of more than 2 million tonnes, had restored most national economic facilities, and had constructed new enterprises. Among these one must particularly single out the power stations in Phnom Penh and in four provincial centers, constructed with the Soviet Union's assistance. Agricultural, industrial, and artisanal production are now meeting the population's requirements to a considerable extent. It has become possible to export some of the goods the country produces—rubber, timber, corn, legumes, and tobacco.

The first 5-year program for socioeconomic rehabilitation and development has been under way in Cambodia since 1986—its most important aim is to achieve prewar (that is, 1969) indicators. Four priority economic sectors have been defined: food production, rubber, timber procurement, and fishing. Agriculture is called upon to be the firm foundation of the national economy.

Other sectors must adequately meet the requirements of these four key areas. In addition, consumer goods production must be developed at a rapid rate, exports must be increased and the proceeds used to expand imports, economic management must be improved, and a policy of thrift must be implemented in order to gradually overcome the difficulties and eliminate the imbalances between production and consumption, exports and imports, the state budget's income and expenditure, and the commodity and money supply.

In the last few years, despite unfavorable weather conditions, we have achieved a stable annual level of food production of 2 million tonnes. The first steps have been taken to create specialized areas for the cultivation of corn, jute, and tobacco. At present hevea plantations occupy more than 40,000 hectares and timber procurements have reached more than 200,000 cubic meters. This is in line with the indicators outlined in the 5-year program and even exceeds them in a number of cases.

Economic management is gradually being renewed on the basis of domestic and world experience and the requisite conditions are being created for the development of productive forces. Ensuring the production and economic independence of plants, factories, and transport enterprises is an important factor. At present there are five sectors in the Cambodian economy: state, cooperative, "family," private, and state-private. We reckon that each one should make its contribution to restoring and developing the economy.

Many indicators achieved under previous regimes have already been exceeded in the sphere of culture, education, and health. Vocational and technical education centers have been opened. More than 20,000 people are studying at the country's higher and secondary educational establishments and 6,000 Cambodians have been sent to study abroad, mainly in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

Great attention is devoted to strengthening the organs of people's and revolutionary power as well as mass public organizations. The year 1981 was a significant milestone in this work—a year when the entire Cambodian people exercised their democratic rights in the elections of deputies to people's revolutionary committees in counties and districts, and also to the National Assembly, first convocation. The democratically created PRK Government became the sole true and legitimate representative of the entire Cambodian people. The constitution and the appropriate legislative acts laid the requisite juridical foundation for governing the country.

In the foreign policy sphere we are steadily carrying out an independent and peace-loving course based on the principles of peaceful coexistence; we want to have more friends, and we act in the interests of the people of Cambodia and on behalf of peace throughout the world.

The PRK is receiving ever-increasing moral and material aid and support from many countries, international movements, humanitarian organizations, peace-loving and progressive forces, and people of good will throughout the world. At present the republic maintains relations with 36 states and 4 national liberation movements. In addition, we maintain ties with political parties, many countries' national fronts, and international public organizations, the total number of which has now reached 101.

Relations of friendship, solidarity, and multifaceted cooperation with the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the USSR, and other socialist community countries were, are, and will remain a reliable support for our country's development.

Together with Vietnam and Laos we are making every effort to transform Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, friendship, and cooperation. We advocate good-neighborly relations based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutual advantage.

Cambodia and the entire Cambodian people, tired of the burdens of the protracted war, welcome the positive trends toward removing confrontation and slackening tension that are now emerging in the world. We fully support the peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries aimed at building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. Guided by these considerations and relying on the firm positions won by the Cambodian revolution, we sat down at the negotiating table to seek a mutually acceptable and just political solution to the Cambodian question, a settlement guaranteeing the interests of the Cambodian people and their right to self-determination, with a view to building a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia.

The party's humane policy and the course of national reconciliation have prompted tens of thousands of people who have come to realize their mistake to leave the enemy ranks and return home.

At present the KPRP and the PRK Government are loudly stating their readiness to receive everyone who has acknowledged their past mistakes, including people who do not share our political views, if they oppose the Pol Pot ringleaders and want to join forces with us to defend national independence and put an end to our people's sufferings.

It is regrettable that support from outside forces is enabling the leaders of the three Khmer reactionary groupings to be stubborn. They entertain illusions regarding the possibility of exploiting our good will, for peace and the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers, in order to change the correlation of forces in their own favor. This is why the Cambodian people, relying on their revolutionary armed forces, are continuing their selfless struggle seeking to prevent the restoration of the Pol Pot regime in any form whatsoever. The entire previous course of events convincingly shows that there is only one force capable of preventing the return of the genocide regime—the PRK.

I will remind you once again of how we began. Then we stood empty-handed at the head of an absolutely disorganized and chaotic society. It was hard to believe that we would have enough human and material resources, and moral, cultural, and social strength, to rise to our feet independently. Our current achievements have been attained by the blood and sweat of the people, who have continued and developed the traditions of selfless struggle and labor under the leadership of the party and the state. All these impressive successes are inextricably linked with international aid and support, especially with the direct aid from the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese state, and the entire heroic fraternal people of Vietnam—and also with the tremendous effective aid of the CPSU, the Soviet state, and the heroic fraternal Soviet people. The party, state, and people of Cambodia are filled with profound gratitude to them and will always remember this.

The revived KPRP, which has been the sole leading force in the onward development of our revolution, was the main determining factor that made it possible to achieve the remarkable accomplishments. The organizational structure of party committees at the center, in the provinces, cities, urban districts, counties, and grassroots links has become stronger in the last 10 years. In 1979 the KPRP had only 62 members, but there are now more than 20,000 party members.

In the upcoming period we are faced with the aim of consolidating the people and rallying all strata of the population and all Cambodians. We are fully determined to eliminate the threat and prevent the return to power of the barbarous Pol Pot clique.

On the basis of our revolutionary gains and the experience acquired over the past period, and relying on our own forces in deciding the fate of our motherland, on the bonds of cohesion among the three countries of Indochina, and also on our solidarity with the Soviet Union, other fraternal socialist and friendly states, and international organizations, we are confident of the final victory of the Cambodian revolution.

Gusev at Moscow Anniversary Events

PM0901122989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In Honor of the Holiday"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the capital's working people devoted to the 10th anniversary of the formation of the PRK was held 5 January in Moscow.

Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador to the USSR, talked about his people's strenuous revolutionary struggle to defend the country and restore and develop everything that is of vital importance for the existence of the nation. The results that have been achieved despite the obstacles and difficulties are extremely encouraging.

T. Akmatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations took part in the meeting. Sam Sundyyen [name as transliterated], first secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Youth League, was present.

On the same day Hor Nam Hong held a reception to mark the national holiday. This was attended by T. Akmatov, V.K. Gusev, and other officials.

Military Paper Marks Anniversary

PM1001125589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov article under rubric "Today Is the 10th Anniversary of the Formation of the PRK": "Years of Struggle, Years of Hope"]

[Text] Ten years ago the Cambodian people cast off the yoke of the criminal Pol Pot regime which had brought the country to the brink of catastrophe. The formation of the PRK opened up prospects for a national rebirth for its people. During these 10 years the PRK has achieved important results in all areas of economic and cultural building. There is no doubt that these achievements would have been far more substantial had forces trying to overthrow the people's power by armed means not prevented the Cambodians from building a new life.

Under these conditions, a special role is played by the republic's army, which is guarding the people's achievements. With the continuing withdrawal from the PRK of the Vietnamese volunteer forces, who came to the aid of their Cambodian brothers struggling for liberation from the bloody dictatorship, Cambodian servicemen are taking on their shoulders all the weight of the tasks of repelling armed counterrevolutionary attacks and defending the peaceful work of their people.

Armed confrontation is not the way to solve problems. It can only tighten the knot of contradictions still further and bring new suffering to the people. Proceeding from this, the PRK Government—which invariably shows peaceableness and goodwill—has issued program statements on national reconciliation and a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. The PRK's active foreign policy makes a substantial contribution to the common struggle of peace-loving forces to establish relations of friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in Southeast Asia. The dialogue that has now begun between the Cambodian leadership and representatives of the opposition promises good prospects for the process of national reconciliation.

Soviet-Cambodian relations are developing successfully. All-around cooperation between our countries is developing and growing deeper, and its forms are improving.

Entering the second decade of its existence, the PRK looks confidently to the future. The country's working people and Kampuchean Army servicemen are doing everything possible to successfully implement the decisions of the Fifth Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) Congress, put the idea of a political solution to the Cambodian problem into practice, and achieve national reconciliation for the sake of prosperity in the ancient land of Angkor.

Cambodian Policy 'Bearing Fruit'

PM1001101789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[I. Nekrasov article: "The Khmers' Dreams Are Coming True. On the 10th Anniversary of the Establishment of People's Power in Cambodia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The young state is faced with the exceptionally complex task of restoring the economy, which must be resolved under conditions of economic blockade and incessant subversive acts on the part of the "Khmer Rouge" entrenched in neighboring Thailand. The opposition exploits the fact of Vietnamese volunteer troops' presence on the country's territory as "justification" for their interference in the PRK's internal affairs.

However, it is clear to everyone today that the knot of the Cambodian conflict can only be unraveled by the peaceful means of a settlement, rather than by categorical demands. In October 1987 the government of People's Cambodia put forward a program for a political settlement of the problem based on national reconciliation, in order to eliminate the conflict.

The PRK Government's clear stance is bearing perceptible fruit. The latest, seventh phase of the Vietnamese volunteers' withdrawal from Cambodia has already been completed. The remaining 50,000 Vietnamese servicemen will leave the country according to schedule in late 1989 or early 1990. Meetings in the Indonesian city of Bogor, and the subsequent session of the working commission on problems of a political settlement around Cambodia, have substantially furthered the solution of the problem in the region.

The fact that approximately 7,000 Cambodians involved in subversive and terrorist activity have switched to the government side since August 1987 is further evidence of the effectiveness of the national reconciliation policy. Approximately 5,000 members of armed opposition units, SPK reports, voluntarily laid down their weapons in the first 10 months of last year. All former opposition members who have voluntarily surrendered to the authorities have received full amnesty.

Changes Since Pol Pot Reviewed

PM1001103589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch under the rubric "In Connection With the 10th Anniversary of the PRK": "But the Memories Are Not Fading]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh—[passage omitted] Time flies. Ten years have passed already since the genocidal regime in Cambodia was done away with. But the shocking pictures of unprecedented horrors are not fading from memory—the unmitigated pain in the eyes of everyone you encountered, the scorched faces of refugees, the mass graves filled with human bones.

The port of Kampong Som, Nhim Vanda [PRK deputy defense minister] says, played a decisive role in saving from starvation the people who were returning home 10 years ago. Ships with precious cargo from socialist countries and international organizations were arriving at the port.

A few days ago, Nhim Vanda went on, I visited the northwest border areas. The situation is more tense there; the enemy is trying to test our defenses following the departure of the Vietnamese volunteers. However, he has been rebutted in worthy fashion. Our Army is confidently taking the defense of the republic's sovereignty and of the security of its borders into its own

hands. But that is only part of our common cause. In all villages and district centers self-defense detachments have been set up, and their numerical strength exceeds by far the strength of the regular forces. The peasants are in no hurry to give up their rifles. In the southern and southwestern zone where industrial installations are concentrated, there have been no major acts of sabotage for several years now. The local authorities fully control these rayons.

Life in the "southern zone" can also be judged by purely external signs: by the way people live and work, by the way new schools and movie theaters are being built, by the way damaged buildings are restored and used to house large families. The abundant markets of Koh Kong, Kampong Som, Kampot, and other coastal cities are eloquent evidence of economic and trade activity.

The successes of the republic's economic development are self-evident. Anyone who comes to Phnom Penh can see them for himself. But the main interest is, of course, focused on the political settlement process. In this respect the past year has probably been the most fruitful of the whole past decade. The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the PRK Government has found its embodiment in a specific diplomatic demarche. In Jakarta a dialogue between the four Cambodian sides was initiated. A second informal meeting with the same lineup is expected to take place in February. The sides' positions and interests are clearer now than ever before. In this context local observers assess the upcoming visit to Bangkok of Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs, as a reassuring factor. The visit will take place at the invitation of Chatchai Chunhawan, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

In an interview with your correspondent in Phnom Penh, Hun Sen noted that Cambodia's rising international prestige and its achievements are inseparable from the assistance and support of the socialist community countries. In the prevailing situation, any hopes of launching a successful military intervention and toppling the people's power in Cambodia have been dispelled once and for all, and instead a real alternative has taken shape—the attainment of a settlement by means of negotiation. It is generally recognized now that there can be no question of a political settlement without taking into account the interests of the PRK.

The Cambodian capital looks festive and smart at the moment. Many foreign guests and journalists have arrived for the jubilee festivities in connection with the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the republic. On the morning of 6 January a ceremonial session opened at the "Bassak" central congress hall. In the presidium are PRK party and state leaders and heads of foreign delegations.

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, delivered a report on the country's development over the past 10 years. He noted that during the time which has elapsed since the liberation from the Pol Pot regime of genocide, Cambodia has achieved impressive successes in the restoration of the economy, the rebirth of national culture, and the strengthening of its defense capability. Dwelling on foreign policy, Heng Samrin expressed ardent support for the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at transforming Asia and the Pacific region into a zone of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. The Cambodian people, he said, fully approve of the proposals put forward by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations.

With a view to facilitating the unblocking of the situation around Cambodia, Heng Samrin stated, the PRK and the SRV have agreed to set a final date for the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops by the end of September 1989, on condition that a political settlement of the problem is reached and that the settlement process takes place under effective international control.

The session was addressed by A.P. Biryukova, head of the Soviet party and state delegation, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Poliburo, and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. She noted in particular that the new major initiative launched by the PRK and the SRV is in line with the main trend of current world developments—the resolution of regional conflicts by political means. This initiative will undoubtedly contribute to the improvement of the situation in this uneasy region.

The session was also addressed by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee; Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party; and other foreign delegation leaders.

Restoration of Burmese Political Confidence Vital

BK0801134089 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Vladimir Vasilyev commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, here is another commentary by Vladimir Vasilyev, a well known observer of Asian affairs working with the Asian Department under the Soviet Academy of Sciences, who is the head of the team studying the history, economy, culture, language, and other aspects of Burma. Only recently he expressed his views on events in Burma in 1988 and said the economy was the key cause for the problems in that country. The following is a detailed discussion on this matter:

In studying economic development in Burma in the post-1962 era, we see the country encountering at least three difficult periods, each of which lasted a long time. The first difficult period was between the mid-1960's and late 1960's, the second period between the mid-1970's and late 1970's, and the last period between the mid-1980's until the present. [passage omitted]

The policy of divorcing the Burmese economy from the markets of the outside world also had a negative effect. Burma refused to accept any form of foreign investments or foreign joint ventures. The fact is the world economy is somewhat like a machine with linkages connecting all nations, and obviously, if a nation were to cut off its links with such a machine, it would leave that nation in a backward situation because its economy would stall. [passage omitted]

The present Burmese military government has announced that it will be introducing basic and profound changes to the economic policy. The most significant steps taken have been the relaxation of control by the center and the removal of all restrictions on the private sector except in the operation of the teak, minerals, and oil industries—traditionally managed by the state.

It has also announced that it will practise an open-door policy on foreign investment. Last month, Burmese Trade Minister Colonel Abel declared that the new law on foreign investment created the best opportunities in the world for overseas investors.

However, not everything is clear in practical and legal terms. I believe more has to be done in explaining, in making financial decisions, and in enacting the new laws. However, the steps taken so far are the most appropriate for the phase in which Burma finds itself today. The problem now is the implementation of the new economic policy. The problem Burma faces today is not only in gaining confidence in economic terms but also in creating conditions to gain the others' confidence politically. This is an important point not only for local entrepreneurs but also for the potential foreign investors.

To achieve this end, it is vital to make efforts to bring about national reconciliation in general and to secure peace and cooperation among all the political forces in the country. The holding of general elections on the basis of a multiparty system, and the installation of democracy throughout the entire political system in the country, are the only way to achieve that goal.

Near East & South Asia

Further Reports, Comment on Afghan Rebel Talks

AFP Cited on Talks Breakdown

LD0901114889 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 9 TASS—Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, leader of the Afghan opposition 'Alliance of Seven', has stated that the mujahidin will no longer negotiate with the Soviet side until full withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the France Presse news agency (AFP) reported.

At a press conference in Islamabad Mojaddedi tried to lay the blame for the deadlock at the talks on the Soviet side.

Two meetings between the Soviet side and representatives of the Alliance of Seven are known to have taken place in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The Soviet side, having expressed readiness for a continuation of the dialogue with the armed Afghan opposition, pointed out that in the present conditions there is no military solution to the Afghan problem which can be solved only by political means.

The Soviet side expressed regret over the fact that the armed opposition did not accept the proposals made by the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to cease fire from January the first, and continued combat actions.

Najibullah Speech Noted

LD0901201589 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 9 TASS—Speaking on local television, President Najibullah of Afghanistan dwelt on the results of the talks held by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, in Tehran and Islamabad. The Afghan president expressed high appreciation of the Soviet efforts aimed at finding ways towards the establishment of peace in Afghanistan. He pointed out that the talks had been held on agreement with the Afghan Government.

Speaking about Vorontsov's meetings in Tehran, Najibullah said that the Iranian leaders and representatives of the Afghan opposition "alliance of the eight" based in Iran had displayed a responsible attitude to them. For instance, the leaders of the "alliance of the eight" had agreed that a coalition government on a broad basis without the discrimination of any political organisations existing in the country should be (?created) [words indistinct] some representatives of the "Alliance of the Seven" in Pakistan, its prime minister and foreign minister, are of the same opinion. Representatives of the Pakistani leadership spoke out in favour of a political settlement, ceasefire or the bringing down of military tension in Afghanistan, as well as the convocation of a "conference" or a "peace jirgah".

However, the Afghan president continued, extremist-minded leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of the Seven" turned down the very idea of a peaceful settlement and openly stated that they sought a monopoly on power. Along with this, they objected to the participation in the country's management not only of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, but also of a number of opposition forces including representatives of the previous regimes and the former king. Thus, the extremists reaffirmed that they did not want the war to be stopped. This was also revealed during unilateral ceasefire announced by the Afghan leadership. If the extremist leaders of the alliance go on with this policy, they will bear full responsibility for the continuing fratricide, the president said.

As for the Republic of Afghanistan, we insist on peaceful means of the settlement, and at the same time we are ready to continue the armed struggle for the sake of the people, President Najibullah said in conclusion.

Rebels Obstructing Settlement

PM1001095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

["On The Spot" report by own correspondent V. Okulov: "Firing Missiles at Reconciliation. Who Is Frustrating a Settlement in Afghanistan"]

[Excerpts] Kabul—On New Year's Eve, as has been reported, President Najibullah made a proposal to the armed opposition on a total cease-fire as of 1 January

1989. The command was given to all units of the Afghan Armed Forces. Subunits of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan ceased fire too.

It was a unique situation. In fact, if the armed opposition had backed the initiative it would have created a favorable situation for a resolute breakthrough in the matter of an Afghan settlement. Because a cease-fire is the principal condition of an inter-Afghan dialogue that would lead to the creation of a government on the basis of the participation of all the warring Afghan forces in it. You will agree that when the cheek is firmly set against the butt and the eye is seeking the enemy in the sights it is physically difficult to conduct any dialogue. [passage omitted]

Given the present correlation of positions, one might, of course, consider President Najibullah's appeal the act of a political romantic. But I rather think that in the complex, critical situation even the slightest opportunity to achieve peace must not be neglected. Such opportunities are offered by M.S. Gorbachev's well-known proposals on Afghanistan that he made at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

No one in the camp of the armed Afghan opposition and of those backing it can say what harm a cease-fire in Afghanistan and a simultaneous cessation of arms supplies to the warring sides would do to the country. And what "damage," one wonders, would be done by the use, for the period of the formation of a government acceptable to all, of such a proven instrument of stabilization as a UN peacekeeping force? Or, finally, by the guaranteeing of neutrality and, perhaps, of the demilitarization of Afghanistan by an international conference under UN auspices?

One might object and say that the Geneva agreements are sufficient. But an effective mechanism for implementing them is also needed. Particularly as Pakistan keeps on breaching them, with the connivance of a guarantor of the agreements—the United States.

With Pakistan, and the United States aiding and abetting it, there is no way the Afghan armed opposition is going to stop singing the song which comprises solely the words "no, no, no." In my view, there is something provincial about its ambitions—a narrow outlook and lack of concern for national interests. This approach will prolong the bloodshed and increase the distress and suffering of the Afghan people of which they have already had more than their fair share.

Opposition 'Conditions' Criticized

LD0901233889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From the "International Diary: Events, Facts, Opinions" program, presented by Konstantin Patsyuk; Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] Events around Afghanistan are developing far from as smoothly as one would wish. According to foreign news agencies, Mojadeddi, chairman of the Afghan opposition's Alliance of Seven, made a special statement today in Islamabad. While he was saying yesterday that he rejected the proposal by Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign affairs minister, on holding a subsequent round of talks in Moscow, Mojadeddi today refused altogether to hold such talks in the near future. In doing so the leader of the Afghan opposition attempted to put forward a number of clearly unconstructive conditions with which talks could take place. Over to my colleague, the commentator Aleksandr Malikov:

[Malikov] After Mojadeddi's statement it has become evident with particular clarity who is out of step with the diplomatic efforts aimed at reconciling the Afghans. By refusing to continue the dialogue with our country the leaders of the Alliance of Seven are at the same time closing the door on the initiative which gave rise to universal approval, as well as on hopes of attaining peace in Afghanistan, as soon as the beginning of this year. It is clear that the consequence of this step can only be a new flare-up of the civil war and its victims are totally on the conscience of the Afghan opposition. Speaking on a broader plane, the alliance's position at the Islamabad talks revealed the anachronistic nature of its approaches or, to put it more strongly, the medieval narrowness of its views. Instead of attempting to build bridges over the abyss of irreconcilability, the Alliance of Seven has continued to repeat the very same thing as if it were learned by rote: We are against a cease-fire and we are against any role for the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] in a future coalition government in the country.

Can such nihilism really serve as a platform in a search for peace? Can one seriously insist on the complete removal from participation in state affairs of a party which numbers 200,000 people? It's difficult to imagine, say, the proposed consultative council, which would be in charge of the country in the period after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, operating without the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—a party which, although it has made mistakes, continues to enjoy the sympathy and support of thousands of Afghans. And moreover, I can imagine what a storm of outrage would have been caused by such a failure by the PDPA to accept the role of any of the opposition groupings in the Alliance of Seven. So why, when it demands the right to a voice for itself does the opposition refuse this right to others? One has the impression that a mood of ultra-extremism is increasingly gaining the upper hand in opposition circles, at least in its Pakistani section. In this connection, observers are not excluding the probability that in refusing talks with us Mojadeddi yielded to pressure from the fundamentalist wing of the opposition headed by Hikmatyar.

In any event, the Afghan rebels' return to their former hard-line, uncompromising positions is significantly undermining the chances for a peaceful process of the transition of power in Afghanistan to the hands of a broad-based coalition government. I suppose that the forces supporting this shift to the right behind the scenes still cannot at all rid themselves of the illusion that Kabul's authority is unsteady. However, according to the British paper THE TIMES, President Najibullah creates the impression of a person who is surprisingly confident

of his strength. And I recall that to the question of where this confidence comes from he replied: I draw my strength from the reality of my society and the demands of my people.

Let me add that the reality of the situation in and around Afghanistan forces one to be convinced once again of the correctness of the thought that the easiest thing in the world today is to resort to arms; it is more difficult to choose a political course to solve various problems. But as accumulated experience has already shown, there is no other way to settle regional conflicts.

Need for Compromise Noted

LD0701212489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] This past week was marked by vigorous diplomatic efforts by our country to settle the situation in and around Afghanistan. Comrade Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister, held talks first in Tehran and then in Islamabad about the prospects for forming a broad-based Afghan coalition government. Here now is commentator Aleksandr Malikov.

[Malikov] People obviously sit down to the negotiating table not for the sake of talks themselves but to achieve certain results. The experience gained in settling regional conflicts speaks unambigously in favor of a need for changes in positions, particularly with the aim of reaching compromises, in order to achieve a good result. I presume that there would hardly have been such an important meeting in Islamabad—which will influence the outcome of the Afghan settlement—if the positions of all the parties involved in the Afghan conflict had not changed. It is another matter to say how much compromise is needed in order for all who are thinking of peace in Afghanistan to be able at last to breathe a sigh of relief. As for our country, it cannot be reproached for not being ready to seek common ground for compromises. This, it seems to me, should have been felt in good measure by the new Pakistani leaders and even the joint delegation of the Afghan opposition forces with whom Comrade Vorontsov conversed yesterday twice for a total of about 5 hours. I think that they understood, if we can judge by their initial reaction.

One more important thing: The Soviet Union keeps its word. However, our honest attitude toward our international commitments ought to be construed correctly: The Geneva agreements were not signed so that the passions of civil war could rage with new strength or to tempt the opposition forces to begin sorting our relations among themselves, which once again would cause Afghans to suffer. No, the agreements were signed to give Afghans, who are so tired of war, a chance to put their own house in order because nobody will do this for them.

But do our partners at the talks fully understand this? Unfortunately, we cannot yet answer in the affirmative. Their lack of desire to end the battles and their will to exclude the People's Democratic Party from any possible coalition government betrays a narrow—to put it mildly—medieval approach. Elementary logic says that it is simply not practical to remove from the political arena a party which numbers 200,000 people. It is just as erroneous to think that power in the country will become easy prey for the opposition groups when the Soviet troops leave. Incidentally, Vorontsov mentioned this directly to his negotiation partners both in tehran and in Islamabad.

The process of an Afghan settlement now is somewhat reminiscent of an automobile that has become struck. It is hardly within the capacity of our diplomacy alone supported by Kabul to push it out onto the road. It is no coincidence that THE NEW YORK TIMES calls on Washington and Islamabad to make diplomatic efforts of their own alongside Moscow and the United Nations so as to promote the political negotiations among the Afghans. The door for the urgently needed joint diplomatic efforts in this direction remains open. Efforts to find any other step can hardly lead to success.

Afghan Army Continues Operations Against Rebels

LD0901125989 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 9 TASS—Government troops are continuing combat operations against armed units of the irreconcilable opposition, terrorising the local population. Scores of rebels were killed during the past 24 hours in Qandahar Province, the BAKHTAR news service reports. As many as 37 arms caches, belonging to the insurgents, were captured. Fifteen ground-to-ground missiles and more than 112 different-type mines were destroyed. The extremists lost more than twenty men killed in clashes with the regular Army in Khowst District.

In retaliation for rebel fire assaults on populated localities in Helmand, Farah and Qandahar Provinces, the Army dealt several blows at their dislocations. [sentence as received] A large number of rebels were killed or wounded.

Clashes continue unabated among rival groups of the opposition adhering to different political trends. Sanguinary fighting broke out between them yesterday in Zabol and Nangarhar Provinces, taking a toll of 19 men killed or wounded.

The Government of the Afghan Republic intends to start an irreconcilable struggle against elements that try to create artificial difficulties in the supply of the Afghan capital with food and prime necessities. This is said in a government statement, transmitted by BAKHTAR. The document notes in part that supply of Kabul with foodstuffs was rendered extremely difficult in recent days due to heavy snowfalls. Persons deliberately concealing food will be brought to account if they fail to hand the hoarded up surpluses over to corresponding organizations within a week after the statement's publication.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry transmitted its 176th note to the U.N. observers mission in Kabul. It points out that there were casualties among the civilian population of several provinces in recent days, caused by rebel fire from weapons, supplied from Pakistan. The Afghan Foreign Ministry asked the U.N. representatives to investigate the adduced facts.

Afghan Opposition Sustaining 'Heavy Losses'

LD1001101489 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 10 TASS—Detachments of the intractable opposition are sustaining heavy losses in battles with Afghan troops. According to BAKHTAR News Agency, more than 100 extremists have been killed in Baghlan Province and Khowst District in the past twenty four hours. Units of the armed forces of the republic also carried out successful combat operations in Provinces Nangarhar, Qandahar, Paktia, Herat, Farah and Konduz. According to the data of Afghan competent bodies, two foreign advisers were killed in the fighting. Armed clashes continue between anti-government groups leaving more than 20 rebels killed in the past twenty four hours. An armed group of 150 men reportedly went over to the side of the government in Badghis Province. A total of 800 women, old men and children, who were hiding in hard-to-reach mountainous regions, returned to peaceful life together with them. Some of the former enemies of the government decided to join the self-defense detachments.

The peace jirga attended by chiefs, elders and the clergy of the tribes were held in Paktia and Laghman—two Afghan provinces where the situation has lately seriously exacerbated as a result of unceasing attempts of the opposition to capture provincial centers. The participants in the jirga stated, in particular, their desire to solve contentious issues through negotiations and supported President Najibullah's proposals on forming a broadly-based coalition government. They expressed the intention to enter into contact with the leaders of anti-government groups to persuade them to start dialogue with authorities. Chiefs of a number of Pushtun tribes in Paktia reaffirmed the readiness to organise paramilitary detachments which will act in cooperation with troops to cut short the extremists' terrorist and subversive activity.

Konar Infighting Shows Need for Afghan Coalition

PM0901122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Okulov report: "No Sharing...: Measuring up for Power in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, Jan—The Afghan province of Konar, captured by the armed opposition, is a model of the situation that could develop in Afghanistan as a whole if the opponents of the present regime realize their aim of sole power in the country.

The bloody struggle continues unabated in Konar Province, on the Pakistani border, between the ringleaders of the most influential groupings here— Mawlawi Afzalem [second name as transliterated] ("Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan") and Abdullah ("Islamic Party of Afghanistan"). The fighting is for sole power and it began, as usual, because of the division of the plunder after the capture of Barikowt region by detachments from those two groupings. The scale and bloody aftermath of the struggle is so great that according to the information of qualified Afghan organs, Islamic Party leader G. Hikmatyar himself intends to go to the province.

Hikmatyar is one of the leaders of the Peshawari "alliance of seven" and stated in Pakistan recently that the talks in Rome between a Soviet representative and Zahir Shah, former king of Afghanistan, which began, as is well known, in the framework of our country's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Afghan conflict, are an attempt to cause division in the ranks of the "fighters for the faith."

What a joke! It is no secret how far the Peshawar "alliance" is from achieving monolithic unity. As for the detachments of the "irreconcilables" operating on Afghan territory, the fratricidal strife among them is seething like a kettle of boiling water. Recently, for example, in Samangan Province, outright clashes developed between detachments of the "Movement for the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan." In Vardak Province, the supporters of Hikmatyar and M. Yunis Khalis belonging to two identically named "Islamic Parties" are fighting among themselves. In Badghis Province, clashes between the Mir Hamza and Ik Mukhammad [name as transliterated] detachments, belonging to the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," have become more frequent. The emissaries sent from Peshawar to end the internal strife among gangs of "irreconcilables" in the suburbs of Ghazni have failed to achieve their purpose.

The "fighters for the faith" clash with one another wherever the division of the plunder, money, and power begins. In the regions and districts that they capture they snatch the crown of single rule from each other's head. Often taking the head with it....

In this situation many politicians here, even among the opposition's ranks, are talking about the vital need for the formation of a broad-based coalition government whose aim would be to establish peace and calm on Afghan soil.

Soviet Middle East Official Reviews Diplomacy

JN0901071589 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 7 Jan 89 p 23

[By Salam Musafir in Moscow]

[Text] According to a deputy chief of the Middle East Countries Department at the USSR Foreign Ministry, 1988 has been a year of intensive and vibrant action for Soviet diplomay. Gennadiy Tarasov, reviewing the performance of Soviet diplomacy over the outgoing year, told AL-ANBA':

The year end saw an improvement in the general international climate, and the credit must go to the U.S-USSR dialogue which has also paved the way for a new type of relations between the superpowers.

Tarasov adds:

Soviet diplomacy has also been active at the United Nations and its affiliate bodies. This is over and above the developing relations between the USSR and other nations around the world. The year 1988 also saw the historic signing of the removal from Europe of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles—a major achievement in the area of disarmament. The past year also saw progress toward mutual cutabacks in strategic arms by 50 percent, although much remains to be achieved on this front. Tangible headway has also been made by way of preparing for an agreement banning chemical weapons. Hopefully, a final, effective agreement no less important than the nuclear disarmament one will be worked out.

On regional conflicts, the Soviet diplomat indicated that the Geneva agreement on a settlement in Afghanistan should lead to a final solution to the Afghan crisis. He noted that the first part of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan has been completed. He stressed the need to make certain that Afghanistan is spared outside interference. By being a co-guarantor with the United States of the Geneva agreement, the USSR thus honored its part of the accord, specifically those articles concerning withdrdawal. He regretted that other parties have failed to observe their obligations, which he said makes the situation in and around Afghanistan tense and explosive. Tarasov said the Soviet Union thinks that there is enough time between now and 15 February, the deadline by which Soviet forces are due to have completed their pullout, for other parties to deliver on their commitments to the articles of the Geneva accord.

[Musafir] Can I take it that Moscow will postpone the date of the Soviet troops' full withdrawal from Afghanistan?

Tarasov answered: Our position is clear. I repeat that up to 15 February, Pakistan and the United States will have enough time to meet the obligations on which they signed in Geneva.

Tarasov then talked about other regional conflicts and the Gulf war. He said: The past year also witnessed changes regarding regional conflicts in other areas. The UN-supervised agreement of 21 December facilitated a peaceful settlement of the conflict in southern Africa, that old and complicated conflict. There is also progress toward a solution to the situation surrounding Cambodia, with national dialogue and reconciliation between the parties being the basis of this solution. Undoubtedly, 1988 witnessed developments in the Middle East. The end of the Iraq-Iran war and the beginning of the peaceful talks between the two countries were the prominent signs of these developments. In its capacity as a Security Council permanent member state, the Soviet Union exerted considerable efforts to stop this tragic war and settle the Iraq-Iran conflict, which resulted in heavy losses and constituted a new threat to world peace and security. Considering the complications of this conflict, we think that the process of the settlement will not be easy, and we hope that the two parties will agree to a peaceful solution in accordance with the UN resolutions. We strongly support efforts by the United Nations and its secretary general to settle the conflict, and we are ready to help in and contribute to the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution.

The Soviet official said: As concerns the Middle East conflict, the oldest and most complicated regional conflict, there were positive developments during the past year. We hope that the progress, which will inevitably lead to a firm and just solution to the Middle East problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict, will continue.

He added: I do not exaggerate when I say that the core of Soviet foreign policy in the past year was Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations. This address met with great international concern and was rightfully considered a program for the world community, as it included plans and initiatives derived from the principle of the new thinking, which is based on realism, evenhanded interests, refraining from the use of force in international relations, and peoples' free decision-making. The main point in the address was the need for internationalizing world problems and getting everybody involved in finding solutions for them. We find in this proposal the philosophy of our country's forthcoming diplomatic activity.

[Musafir] I asked the Soviet diplomat:

Analysts think East-West detente will to some degree or another affect developing and Third World nations in that it will be at the expense of their interests. It is also said that Moscow has made substantial concessions to Washington to promote a thaw in relations between the superpowers. How do you react to this?

[Tarasov] I quite disagree. The world is still living under rigid, outdated perceptions which impede progress. In the contemporary world the one route to clearing up international relations lies in accommodation among powers with diverse interests and a balance of interests as well as the freedom of choice and balanced security.

Consider the principles whereby Soviet diplomacy is pursued: While the short- and medium-range missile agreement provided for the destruction of more USSR than American missiles, the end result points to good faith on our part. It is idle to view the matter from a purely numerical perspective. What really counts is the bottom line, and that is the elimination of two types of deadly missiles with nuclear warheads. As I have said, the question is not one of numbers. Rather, it is a profound philosophical outlook on disarmament and warding off the threat of a nuclear disaster.

Let's now return to the Afghan issue: The Geneva agreement reflects a balance of interests, specifically the emergence of an independent, nonaligned Afghanistan. Soviet withdrawal is a shining truth that refutes contentions that Moscow is seeking access to warm waters. This is a myth. Our country has taken the courageous, wise decision to pull out from Afghanistan and has bound itself to the obligations enshrined in the Geneva accord. Indeed, the USSR has literally carried out the Geneva agreement provisions. We have declared our preparedness to rehabilitate the country and find a negotiated settlement that consults the interests of all parties. I think our efforts will find responsiveness on the ground.

[Musafir] The balance of forces in Afghanistan is tipped in favor of the opposition forces, more so since half of the Soviet forces withdrew. It has been suggested in the

Soviet press that the Najibullah-led People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is isolated from the masses and that the conventional wisdom is that Pakistan and the United States will maintain their support for Afghan opposition groups. How do you view the situation in Afghanistan?

[Tarasov] I do not want to delve deeper into the Afghan issue. This is for two reasons:

First, as is the case in other ministries, there is a distribution of duties and responsibilities at the Foreign Ministry. The USSR Foreign Ministry has a section in charge of the Afghan issue and I would rather not speak on their behalf.

Second, going into the details of Afghanistan's internal scene would be pointless. Our position is clear. We are withdrawing from Afghanistan. We will be happy to see this country situated on our southern borders pursue nonaligned, neutral, and peaceful policies and maintain friendly relations with us. We would also be happy to see the conflict resolved in the spirit of national conciliation and the installation of a coalition government there.

[Musafir] How much did the meeting of Mr Vorontsov with the Afghan opposition men in Al-Ta'if contribute to a peaceful settlement?

[Tarasov] It is difficult to make an assessment based on quantity. These contacts are part of our diplomatic activity aiming at finding a settlement to the situation in Afghanistan based on the Geneva accord. It is hard to give an early judgment on the results, pending later developments.

[Musafir] Does the Al-Ta'if meeting constitute a step toward the resumption of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Riyadh?

[Tarasov] Relations exist between us. As you know, Saudi Arabia was among the first world states with which we had diplomatic relations early this century. There is no direct relationship between the Al-Ta'if meeting and the issue of diplomatic relations with Riyadh, although we believe that the absence of diplomatic relations—diplomatic representation in particular—is not a normal matter in the world of today. We are holding a positive and fruitful dialogue with Saudi Arabia. We are ready to boost this dialogue to more advanced stages.

[Musafir] Can it be said that the activation of Soviet relations with moderate Arab states means the end of Moscow's wagering on the radical regimes in the region?

[Tarasov] Moscow is interested in promoting relations with all world states regardless of their political systems. From this premise, we seek cooperation and developed relations with the Middle East, which is close to our territory and with which we have historical relations and interests.

[Musafair] What do Soviet "interests" in the Middle East mean?

[Tarasov] This expression does not entail any aggressive or selfish meaning. As I said, the area is close to us in various spheres—geographic, historical, and cultural. It is also a hotbed of tension and wars. We want peaceful development for its countries and prosperous, developed economic relations with them.

[Musafir] It has been said that Moscow played a specific role in the recent Palestinian decisions. How much truth is in that?

[Tarasov] Once again I say that matters are not judged by mass calculation. Strong relations bind us to the PLO within active, regular, and periodical political consultations based on equality and evenness.

[Musafir] How do you view Shamir's recent plan?

[Tarasov] We have not yet received the details of this plan. What we have received is no more than press reports. Despite our respect for the media, they do not always give a clear, complete picture. However, as far as we understood it, the Shamir plan gives nothing more than Camp David. It is common knowledge that the Camp David accord died a long time ago. We hope that the new Israeli government will do something more constructive and fruitful in light of the ongoing changes in the Middle East.

[Musafir] Political analysts pin hopes on the Bush administration, on the premise that it will exert greater efforts to settle regional conflicts, particularly the Middle East conflict, given that Reagan's administration has scored a noticeable success in the sphere of East-West relations and disarmament. How do you view this possibility?

[Tarasov] I find it difficult to pass judgment on what U.S. diplomacy will do in the next stage. The Americans are called upon to clarify their next moves. I believe that U.S. diplomacy will devote more attention to the Middle East problem, because the state of affairs in the Middle East has come to fruition, a fruition that was the result of the Palestinian uprising. We must also not forget the Palestinian resolutions adopted by the recent PNC Algiers session, and the explicit political course outlined by 'Arafat in his Geneva speech. From this premise, the United States, as a superpower, has a responsibility to double its efforts to attain a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. We have been holding an intensive dialogue with the Americans over the past years on the Middle East problem, and we have exerted important efforts to approximate viewpoints. Of course, we will pursue these efforts with the Bush administration.

[Musafir] How do you explain Washington's acceptance of dialogue with the PLO? Is it the result of pressure, or a political maneuver to mitigate the indignation?

[Tarasov] There's no black and white in politics. International politics are mulitcolored. As we stated in the USSR Foreign Ministry's statement dated 18 December, we view the U.S. step as one in the right direction. In my opinion, it is a recognition of the fait accompli. The United States refused to hold a dialogue with the PLO for a long time. They have now crossed this barrier.

According to our information, we believe that the dialogue will continue. This is actually a U.S. admission, which bears no interpretation, that the PLO is a basic party in any settlement. It is difficult for me to say why the United States has undertaken such a step. What is important in my opinion is that we view this step as positive and wise, one that will certainly help in containing the Middle East crisis.

[Musafir] It is well known that you have been one of the engineers of Soviet-Israeli normalization, if we may use this expression. How did the first meetings between the USSR and the Israelis take place, and what topics were discussed?

[Tarasov] I do not approve of the term "normalization." I will explain why later. The first meeting with the Israelis was held in Bonn in August 1977. Three other meetings were later held in Helsinki, Paris, and Geneva. I am speaking about the meetings in which I participated. These meetings cannot be viewed as coming within the framework of normalization, as you have mentioned. I can describe them with all modesty and accurcay as attempts to hold a politicial dialogue with Israel on a settlement in the Middle East. These meetings did not take place suddenly, because they were an extension of the contacts the USSR foreign minister held with his Israeli counterpart during UN sessions. Working meetings between the representatives of the Soviet and Israeli Foreign Ministries were also held as a result of these contacts.

Our stand stems from the fact that the conflict in the Middle East is comprehensive in nature. From this premise, the settlement should be comprehensive. Since Israel is a party to the conflict, then there must be dialogue with all parties, including Israel. This is in addition to the fact that Israel has expressed and continues to express its desire to hold a dialogue with us. We have fixed what topics these meetings will discuss. We decided that the discussion will revolve around a Middle East settlement and the international conference. Israel agreed to the discussion of these topics. For our part, we have set several objectives to be attained from these meetings. The most important is that the Israelis become familiar with the USSR stand from the original source, as it is well known that there are some in Israel and in the West who try to cast doubts on the USSR stand. Another objective is to become familiar with the Israeli stand from the original source as well. A third objective is to try to influence the Israeli stand as much as possible and encourage it to become constructive and realistic with respect to a Middle East settlement. These were the three objectives that guided us during our meetings with the Israelis. Although we cannot claim that the contacts brought about the desired results, I can say that the meetings were benecifial and that they will continue.

[Musafir] Why was it not possible to achieve the desired success in these meetings?

[Tarasov] This, I believe, is due to the delusions that have, wittingly or unwittingly, been instilled in the minds of the Israelis. So the main task, if we are to achieve a settlement, is to remove these sick delusions and cliches, which still dominate a considerable part of Israeli society. Indeed, some progress has emerged recently as indicated by the latest poll, which showed that 54 percent of the Israelis favor a dialogue with the PLO. However, the new Israeli government still opposes such a dialogue. I am not trying to influence the Israeli voter, but it is a fact that the general trend in Israeli society is inclined toward the conviction that the only way out of the present complicated situation is an objective and honorable dialogue with the Palestinians and Arabs on the basis of mutual interests. We are convinced that developments in the region and the world are proceeding toward making reason prevail in Israel as well.

[Musafir] Has there been any change in the Soviet position concerning the resumption of diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv?

[Tarasov] The Soviet position as stated by Mikhail Gorbachev is clear and frank. Gorbachev said relations will be resumed with the beginning of work of the international conference on the Middle East.

[Musafir] Will the Israeli consular group continue its work in Moscow for a further period?

[Tarasov] Yes.

[Musafir] Commenting on the hijacked Soviet airliner, Peres said it was a gift from heaven to improve relations with Moscow. What is your opinion?

The Soviet smiled and then said:

I hope we have fewer such gifts.

He added:

I believe that during that incident, Israel acted in accordance with international norms and rules. We acknowledged that by expressing our thanks and indicating that it was an example of the civilized relations that should be firmly established among nations. I would like to add that had Israel behaved in the same way toward other issues, the situation in the Middle East today would be a lot better.

[Musafir] It is noticeable that the Israeli "relief team" is still in Armenia, while all the other international teams have already left after completing their mission. This shows Tel Aviv is concerned more with propaganda and political gains than the victims of the earthquake. How do you view this matter?

[Tarasov] Yes, you are right. The international relief teams have completed their work, and Armenia has begun the phase of reconstruction. Our country is very grateful for this assistance. I would also like to point out that it is impermissible to exploit this tragedy for the sake of achieving cheap personal gains. The Armenian earthquake has shocked the USSR and indeed the whole world. This is why we opened our doors to anyone wanting to help. International sympathy with us has set an astounding model for the unity of mankind. Since a tragedy of such magnitude called for the support of

world forces, we accepted aid from every quarter, including Israel, without discrimination. We also accepted relief teams from the Arab states. I repeat our thanks to all those who rushed to our aid.

He then added:

We are, of course, aware of what you referred to in your question, but we should rise above such things!

[Musafir] President Gorbachev has called for the internationalization of world problems. This same call was also contained in the speech which his highness the amir delivered before the United Nations. How do you view this similarity?

[Tarasov] We have a high opinion of not only the amir's speech, but also the whole policy pursued by Kuwait, this friendly country with which we have not had any problems since the establishment of relations between us in the early sixties. I am pleased to refer to our common stands on most international issues. In fact, we stand in one trench. We highly value Kuwait's weight in the international arena—this distinctive, noble role that constitutes a significant landmark in international politics. We are extremely interested in developing our relations with Kuwait, especially since his highness the amir is the current chairman of the Islamic Conference Organization, with which we are seeking to improve our relations. We are also full of admiration for Kuwait's weight and status on the regional and international levels.

West Europe

Yakovlev Departs for German Party Congress

PM0901121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of the German Communist Party"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow for Frankfurt-am-Main 5 January at the invitation of the German Communist Party [DKP] Board to take part in the work of the schuled Ninth DKP Congress. The delegation included Yu.A. Manayenkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Lipetsk CPSU Obkom, and O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.M. Falin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and senior CPSU Central Committee workers.

Central Committee Greets German Party Congress

PM0901135189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Ninth German Communist Party Congress]

[Text] To the Ninth German Communist Party [DKP] Congress

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent greetings to delegates to the Ninth DKP Congress and all the FRG's Communists.

Worthily continuing the traditions of the German revolutionary movement, all the DKP's activity confirms its loyalty to its chosen goal—the struggle to attain a fairer society, remove the threat of war, and assert common sense and the norms of humanity in the policy of states and social forces.

The reorganization of the international community on peaceful principles has become a necessary condition today for the preservation of life on earth. Relying on the experience that we have accumulated but also seeing the fundamental differences between today and yesterday, we need to seek and blaze new trails to the future. To do so together, at the same time, each in his own sphere of responsibility.

We wish the Ninth DKP Congress successful work for the sake of the federal republic's working people and in the interests of fruitful cooperation between the peoples.

May the friendship between the CPSU and the DKP grow stronger.

Long live the international solidarity of communist and workers parties.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Observer Denies Prisoners of Conscience Charge

PM0501160389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 89 p 3

[Article for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by APN observer V. Ostrovskiy: "Don't Chase the Wave"]

[Text] DEUTSCHE WELLE broadcast just the other day a staggering piece of news: According to the figures of the International Human Rights Society, based in Frankfurt-am-Main, 431 prisoners of conscience are presently recorded in the Soviet Union, although, as the radio station pointed out, their number is probably far higher in practice.

After hearing this broadcast by the German radio station I asked the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to comment on the figures cited. The official response was terse: "There are no so-called 'prisoners of conscience' in the Soviet Union today."

"Perhaps there are prisoners sentenced for a cumulation of crimes [po sovokupnosti], say, for crimes having no connection with the profession of religious faith or a crime coming under Article 227 of the RSFSR Criminal Code?" I pursued.

"Only one person is serving a term of imprisonment for a cumulation of crimes. That is A. Grigoryev, who was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment under Articles 224 and 227. His term of imprisonment comes to an end in 1993," Yu.I. Kalinin, chief of a USSR MVD Administration, said.

Let us make it clear that Article 224 of the RSFSR Criminal Code provides for punishment under criminal law for the illegal manufacture, acquisition, storage, transportation, or sale of narcotics. Judging by the term of imprisonment to which A. Grigoryev was sentenced, the crime he committed comes under the aforementioned act, for which those found guilty of such crimes are punished by imprisonment of up to 10 years. As for Article 227, it defines a criminal offense as encroachment on the person and the right of citizens under the guise of performing religious ceremonies. Those convicted under it are punished by imprisonment for up to 5 years. Thus A. Grigoryev can in no way be categorized as a so-called "prisoner of conscience."

Why then did the human rights society in Frankfurt-am-Main need to put a fabricated figure out on the air? We have previously on more than one occasion reported the number of ordinary criminals held under Article 227 to Western representatives when discussing humanitarian problems and human rights with them. We now have no such prisoners in our country.

Some people, mostly in NATO circles, are reluctant to give a proper response, for example, to Soviet peace initiatives designed to reduce troops and conventional armaments. And they are attempting once again the old method of substituting a nonexistent problem for a real one.

Greece Denies U.S. Bases Used for Libya Attack

LD0901162489 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Athens January 9 TASS—The Greek Government has denied a press report alleging the use of U.S. and NATO bases in Greece in the operation in which U.S. aircraft destroyed two Libyan planes.

A government spokesman said here today that the report alleging the use for the purpose of the U.S. airforce base near Athens, of bases on Crete Island and in the locality of Aktion (northern Greece) does not square with reality. He reiterated the statement he himself has made a few days ago to the effect that the government took all the necessary steps to prevent the use of the U.S. military facilities in Greece for purposes not covered by the American-Greek agreement.

Local press recalls that this agreement with the United States has already expired and that the 17 months period in which the U.S. military facilities must be taken out of Greece, has begun.

Kovalev Receives Outgoing Luxembourg Envoy

LD0501200789 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—Anatoliy Kovalev, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, received Robert Bloes, Luxembourg's ambassador to the Soviet Union, in Moscow on Thursday in connection with the completion of his tour of duty and departure from the USSR.

Latin America & Caribbean

PRAVDA Account of Interview With Ortega

PM0901134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Tremendous Significance: Nicaraguan President Interviewed by Soviet Journalists"]

[Text] Managua, 4 Jan—The initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations are of tremendous significance, President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has stated in an interview with Soviet journalists. Of great interest to Latin America in particular, he noted, is the Soviet leader's suggestion of a 100-year moratorium on the payment of the developing countries' foreign debt. This would help to step up the Latin American peoples' efforts to secure a new, fair economic order.

D. Ortega rated highly the Soviet decision to reduce unilaterally the number of its troops in Europe. This measure, like the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, helps to improve the international atmosphere and strengthen the trend toward the solution of disputes by means of talks, disarmament, and peace.

The Nicaraguan president called M.S. Gorbachev "the man of 1988" and stressed that the Soviet leader is pursuing an active, realistic, and bold policy in the interest of the peoples defending the cause of peace and social progress.

During the interview D. Ortega paid great attention to the situation in Central America. The heads of the Central American states, he said, demonstrated their political will by confirming the significance of the Guatemala peace agreement at their meeting in Costa Rica in January 1988. Throughout the year, however, the United States kept up its attempts to put powerful pressure on the region's countries with the aim of wrecking the peace settlement. Just when it seemed that the peace process begun in Guatemala in August 1987 was deadlocked, an accord was reached on holding a new Central American summit in El Salvador 15 January 1989. It should give fresh impetus to the solution of the Central American problem.

Speaking about Nicaragua's specific contribution to the implementation of the Guatemala accords, D. Ortega said that the most important step was the holding of peace talks with the armed counterrevolution in March

1988 in Sapoa and on the basis of its results the signing of a peace agreement providing for the cessation of the war and the achievement of national reconciliation. Since then, however, the Contras, under U.S. pressure, have boycotted the continuation of the peace dialogue.

The Nicaraguan president went on to note that the respite brought about by the talks in Sapoa and subsequently the unilateral cessation of offensive operations by government troops against the forces of armed counterrevolution have made it possible to achieve a slight increase in agricultural production. However, the country's economic position remains extremely difficult.

Ortega Interviewed on Esquipulas Agreement

PA0801034289 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0012 GMT 8 Jan 89

["Part II" of report on interview with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega by correspondent Yuriy Baranov in Managua; date not given—recorded; Part I not monitored by FBIS]

[Text] In the first part of his interview, which we have already broadcast, President Ortega spoke about the perspectives for a political solution in the Central American region. Here is a report on what the Nicaraguan president said about Nicaragua's compliance with the Esquipulas II agreement.

Ortega said that the most important step in Esquipulas II was the Sapoa agreement, because it initiated a dialogue with the contras and allowed Nicaragua to work on a proposal and approve as many as 21 of its points. Nicaragua, meanwhile, by deciding to establish a truce and extending it every month, contributed to a reduction of military activity. These factors, Ortega said, have worked in favor of the stability and peace that Nicaragua is seeking.

Ortega referred to the contra leaders' proposal to resume a dialogue with the Nicaraguan Government by saying that the contras are a defeated force, a dead body that has not yet been buried. Ortega added that the contra leadership is now presenting different proposals. One group proposes democratization in Nicaragua, while another group proposes continuing conversations at the OAS. Ortega said these proposals lack support because they are not based on a consensus of criteria. He added that each group is making its proposals independently of the others, seeking a political advantage that they could have gained at the Sapoa and Managua meetings—but were unable to do so. Ortega said: We cannot take this seriously. We do not think the proposal is serious because it comes from a people divided by contradictions—a terrorist force whose possibilities of becoming an actual threat to the revolution have been destroyed. Ortega added that the contras may seek amnesty and obtain repatriation in Nicaragua through UN organizations.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Ponders Nicaraguan Scene

PM0901123589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Golts and V. Degtyar report under the rubric "From the Travel Notebook": "The Difficult Roads of the Land of Sandino"]

[Excerpts] Managua-Moscow—...Just over a week—this was the amount of time allowed us, a delegation of the USSR Union of Journalists, to get to know the Republic of Nicaragua. It goes without saying that this is a terribly short time to grasp the problems of this state in any depth and appreciate the dynamics of its development. But even a few days proved to be long enough to fall in love with this beautiful country. What is more, seeing the Nicaraguan revolution at a difficult juncture, certain aspects in the history of our own state possibly became clearer to us. [passage omitted]

Life is not easy at the moment in the land of Sandino. There is absolutely no need to read the opposition newspaper LA PRENSA, which prefers to take pleasure in savoring all of Nicaragua's difficulties, in order to appreciate this. The eyes of a 5-year-old street peddler and the eyes of an old woman who sits down to rest for a second in front of her house will tell you that life is indeed hard. The country is experiencing a shortage of food and industrial goods. All this appeared particularly unnatural against the background of the vigorously flourishing Nicaraguan winter. So why, in this fertile, rich land, do people not always eat their fill and why do many of them have to huddle together in squalid living quarters?

The answer is well known. For 7 years the land of Sandino has had to stand up to a real undeclared war being waged against it by the most powerful capitalist power. [passage omitted]

Nicaragua will only be able to tackle its economy seriously when its security is guaranteed. As Rene Vivas, the country's deputy minister of internal affairs, emphasized in a conversation with us, a very great deal depends on the attitude taken by the new U.S. Administration. At the moment Washington is giving out contradictory signals. On the one hand, representatives of the Bush team seem to say that the intention is to resolve the problems of the Central American region by diplomatic means and, on the other, the extremely right-wing newspaper THE WASHINGTON TIMES has carried a secret State Department report suddenly "leaked," which is addressed to the transition group of the future administration. "U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua may be the only solution to the problems of this region"—this is the crux of the report. "The Sandinist cancer must be removed, even if surgical intervention is needed"—the newspaper quoted from the confidential State Department document.

That is why, Comrade Vivas emphasized, we must keep our powder dry. With regard to the struggle against the Contras, the present situation inspires optimism. [passage omitted]

The rebel groups are not yet totally defeated. But enemies are approaching stealthily from the other side. The legal opposition is trying to work by using methods that are certainly not parliamentary. As security bodies have managed to establish, members of the opposition are under the control of the American Embassy. And in line with the plan of U.S. Ambassador Melton, last summer they tried to exploit economic difficulties to draw people into the streets to begin an open struggle against the government. But it did not work. The provocation was quashed as a result of timely measures. Several agents of the U.S. special services, who had been working under cover of the embassy, and Ambassador Melton himself were expelled from the country.

This constant U.S. interference is the main reason for Nicaragua's socioeconomic difficulties. The main reason, but not the only one. This was discussed in a conversation with Williams Ramirez, one of the legendary partisan commanders and a man who is always assigned to the most responsible sector. Suffice it to say that he was instructed by President D. Ortega to head the operation to save the population in coastal areas from the hurricane. But Comrade Ramirez' main work is to lead an organization that buys products within the country and abroad. These products are then used to supply the army and hospitals and also for sale at subsidized prices to workers in state enterprises.

In the opinion of W. Ramirez, the government has not yet succeeded in radically improving the work of state plants and factories or cooperatives. Some leaders are little concerned with production efficiency. And this indifference, W. Ramirez emphasized, is passed on to the ordinary workers. The Nicaraguan comrades are now looking hard for ways to improve the economic situation. It is planned, in particular, to issue shares in state enterprises and make more extensive use of private capital. There has also been a monetary reform to improve the economic situation, which has slightly curbed the rate of inflation.

Nicaragua is now faced with complex problems: The country has to be transferred from its "economy of resistance" to a peaceful economy and the strengthening of political and social stability. These issues are raised and resolved by every revolution. But there are no and certainly cannot be any patent answers to these questions. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Zaykov Address Moscow Gorkom Meeting

PM1001123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To Be the Vanguard of Restructuring. Meeting at Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] A meeting took place 9 January at Moscow CPSU Gorkom between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Moscow Gorkom's aktiv—members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau, party raykom first secretaries, and gorispolkom and rayispolkom leaders.

Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said:

I have long wanted to meet with you, Comrades. I know that you have expressed the same wish. A good time has been chosen for our meeting. The rayon report and election party conferences are behind us, and the city party conference lies ahead. In the course of this crucial, large-scale campaign the voice of the more than 1 million-strong detachment of the capital's Communists has rung out powerfully.

In view of the role, position, and significance of the capital's gorkom, the results of and lessons to be drawn from this campaign are very important for us, especially as the party is already starting to prepare for its next congress. We are going through a crucial phase in the development of our society. Therefore, what the capital's Communists brought to their rayon conferences is very important to us. It is of partywide significance.

It is important to hear from you what you think should be brought to the attention of the party Central Committee.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow party gorkom, gave a briefing on the work of the Moscow Gorkom.

Today's meeting, he said, is of particular significance for us. It takes place on the eve of the city's report and election party conference. The course of the very complex period when the cleansing ideas of restructuring—the need for which nobody questions—have established themselves in life is being analyzed. The results that have been achieved are being assessed exactingly.

The capital's Communists are working on how to master methods of political leadership of the process of renewal in conditions of the broadening of democracy and glasnost. This is no easy matter.

A few days ago, when the upcoming report was being discussed, there was an acute, principled, and interested discussion at a party gorkom plenum on how to structure work better and overcome the deep-seated habit of administrative-edict methods while at the same time not slackening party influence on socioeconomic development in conditions where the apparatus is being reorganized and functions are being separated.

The reports and elections in party organizations are showing afresh that restructuring has awakened people's initiative.

Probably never before have we received such a vast quantity of constructive proposals and comments designed to secure a breakthrough, spurt ahead, and step up work in all areas. The fact that this activeness is characteristic of all strata of society, Communists, and nonparty people is equally important. We are delighted by the openness, principledness, and diversity of opinions.

I think that everyone who received a vote of confidence and withstood the test of the elections shares this viewpoint. The elections were sometimes hard, especially as they were held on an alternative basis.

The strategy behind our actions is clear. It involves reliance on the masses, constant consultation with the people, and the elaboration of political decisions in the light of public opinion. The political and economic reforms and revolutionary restructuring are today uncovering many complex and sometimes contradictory questions. It is very important for us to be able on the eve of the city party conference to discuss these questions and ask your advice, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

By and large we have something to tell the conference. In the economic sphere: Industrial production and labor productivity growth rates are stable and exceed the 5-year plan targets. Economically accountable relations are being strengthened. Contractual discipline has been tightened up. The economy is gaining a social reorientation. We sensed that Muscovites perceive this today during our visit to the "Kvant" Science and Production Association.

The rates of housing construction have risen and the plans for commissioning social, cultural and consumer service facilities have been overfulfilled. The sociopolitical climate is changing. The atmosphere in labor collectives is becoming more democratic.

Leaders are winning prestige through their actions rather than their words. We are learning to take criticism the right way and draw constructive conclusions from it. In short, we are not forcing people to listen to us, but we are heeding the people. I must say that people are reacting very sensitively to the attention being paid to them.

During the reports and elections many party and government leaders directly visited party organizations, labor collectives, and work places.

The new processes in the public life of the city and the country are also renewing the work style of party organizations. Above all, there is reliance on grassroots links, Communists' extensive involvement in practical work, and collective elaboration of party decisions.

We are refusing to supplant economic organs and public organizations and are boosting the role of labor collective councils and trade unions. Of course, we realize that these are only the first positive steps and we realize that there is still a long way to go and a great deal of work to be done before things radically improve.

There are still definite distortions in the implementation of economic reform and in the development of the cooperative movement. But, so to speak, these are growing pains and must be endured.

The reorganization of the structure of the party gorkom apparatus and a certain mechanical approach to separation of functions sometimes result in certain threads of management slipping from our fingers. This must not be allowed to happen.

The Moscow Gorispolkom and its services are slow to master the new work methods to which the general plan for the city's economic management is geared. They are still characterized by sluggishness and lack of coordination, and bureaucratism is proving hard to eradicate. Hence the malfunctions in the work of trade and transport and in street-cleaning and the idle time of railroad cars carrying freight to maintain the normal life of the city. This arouses justified irritation among Muscovites.

All this is especially intolerable because principled party and government resolutions have been adopted on practically all the main areas of the capital's socioeconomic development. They have created the requisite conditions for resolving the problems that have accumulated over the years in the spheres of health, food supply, housing and sociocultural construction, the rapid development of the subway, and others.

The party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers are also providing concrete aid in resolving many other urgent problems in the capital's development, for which Muscovites are profoundly grateful.

The party gorkom is well aware that the ball is now in our court. That is why strict party control has been taken of the elaboration of a unified general plan for the development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast through the year 2010 and the "Progress-95" comprehensive program for the intensification of the city's economy, which will combine in the optimum fashion territorial and sectorial interests via enterprises, specific collectives, and their councils.

Today's discussion will certainly give a new boost to improving the organizational, political work of Moscow's party committees and soviet organs. It will also make it possible to hold in a more profound and constructive way the debate at the upcoming city party conference, better coordinate our actions to fulfill the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and accumulate experience of restructuring for the 28th party congress.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, people who are in daily touch with the practical problems of restructuring, work directly with people, and sense everything that troubles Communists and the public are gathered here today. Let's hear their opinions.

The following spoke at the meeting: A.M. Bryachikhin, first secretary of Sevastopolskiy CPSU Raykom; A.N. Nikolayev, first secretary of Baumanskiy CPSU Raykom; V.P. Shantsev, first secretary of Perovskiy CPSU Raykom; V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom; V.K. Trusov, chairman of Kiyevskiy Rayispolkom; V.P. Shcherbakov, chairman of Moscow City Council of Trade Unions; and N.V. Pavlov, chairman of Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayispolkom. They talked about the main areas of restructuring in the activity of Moscow's party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations, the progress of the radical economic reform and the processes of democratization and the development of glasnost. They analyzed how political methods of leadership are being introduced, how the reorganization of the capital's economic management structure is proceeding, and what problems need to be further resolved. The speakers made concrete proposals aimed at speeding up the positive changes in society, the economy, and the country's social development.

At the conclusion of the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said:

I especially value the pithiness of today's discussion. This indicates that the new situation is being assimilated along all avenues of restructuring. Many interesting points were made as regards the economic reform. It is good that rayon party conferences focused their attention on these issues.

People are thoroughly involved in pondering various aspects of the political reform, everything that concerns soviets and the rayon and city components. It is an especially important fact that this reflection is taking place in the specific conditions of a major party organization like Moscow's.

Everything that was discussed here is very important, although much of it was not new to me. This means that the information being received by the CPSU Central Committee correctly reflects the processes occurring within the city party organization. We in the CPSU Central Committee have up-to-date knowledge. This is very important for us because it is impossible to formulate either policy or practical work without having correct information on the real processes that are taking place.

We, comrades, must resolutely get rid of window dressing in what is the main issue—information. Window dressing is dangerous when reporting or supplying data on construction, on the commissioning of various installations, on the work of various spheres or sectors. But if we receive political information which, on the whole, fails to reflect the real processes and does not contain the objective impulses provided by life itself, such distortions could form the basis for major miscalculations. After all, information received by the CPSU Central Committee and the government provides the basis for political and economic assessments, and decisions are made on the basis of these assessments. This is why we

cannot allow any misleading information at our meetings, debates, plenums, or Supreme Soviet sessions, in our main political institutions. We need a specific and businesslike discussion on what real life shows. Otherwise we might get confused and miscalculate, which would result in major losses and discredit our policy and restructuring.

Let me share my experiences of New Year's Eve, when I had to deliver the New Year greetings message to the people. I thought to myself: What form should my message take? At this moment, at this crossroads. After all, this is a complex time. You probably sensed that I tried to be as objective and as truthful as possible. Even at that festive moment, that special moment of the onset of the New Year. People had to be told the real state of everything. This may not have produced any extra joy, but truth is the main thing for our people. Especially since there was not only a statement of difficulties but also a review of everything we have achieved that inspires optimism. We have nevertheless reached the main highway, the correct highway. We must follow this highway. This is the most important point.

Today we visited "Kvant" and talked to people. I asked: How do workers perceive everything that is happening in the country? What is their opinion? One worker said: You know, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the working class realizes that times are hard now, but we must stand firm and get through it, we must do everything because improvement along all avenues will be achieved only by overcoming the difficulties.

Yes, workers realize this, they are not in a "let someone else do it" mood, they realize that today everyone must do as much as possible. We must perceive the real processes and should under no circumstances depict the desirable as reality.

Many specific questions were raised here concerning various aspects of restructuring in the context of processes now under way in the capital, the gorkom, the labor collectives, the national economy, and the soviets. Many opinions with nationwide and statewide applications were expressed. We will issue appropriate instructions on the basis of this discussion.

We in the Politburo held a very extensive discussion of what 1988 has shown. I must say that it was a special year, a year of major lessons, of a breakthrough in thoughts and actions, a year of major innovations, of unexpected and nonstandard shifts in social awareness and social practice. All this demanded a tremendous intensification of the work of the party and all our cadres in order to cope with the situation.

It must be bluntly said that all political and social institutions underwent their first real test. This process will be maintained and will unfold on an even broader scale this year. We must be prepared for this.

The year of 1988 showed that we really can talk about actual restructuring. There were debates, exchanges of opinions, clashes of these opinions. All this was necessary. We had to understand the country in which we live, our achievements, and the accumulated problems, and to try and forecast our development. This helped us to arrive at the decisions and the policy we are implementing. Through economic and political reform, through the improvement of the spiritual sphere, through glasnost and democratization. All this was met with understanding.

This is how everything worked. Economic accountability made completely different demands of people regarding their attitude toward work and the way specialists and leaders should act. Within the framework of the unfolding process of democracy, party and soviet organs also found themselves in a new situation. They need a different work style, different work methods, a different nature of relations with cadres and working people. This proved to be not all that simple, comrades. Acute processes began—a revolution in minds, in thinking, in approaches. The year of 1988 was accompanied by intensive thinking, intensive work, general intensiveness. This is why it is very important. It was necessary to pay special attention to the ideological backup for restructuring in all areas. This, comrades, is extremely important now because we must dispel the mistaken view that restructuring is manna from heaven, an omelet which someone will serve to us in a pan or on a plate in the morning.

We must create everything with our own hands. If we want to live differently we must work, think, and act differently, we must organize relations differently, we must assess everything according to the criteria of restructuring. Restructuring has generated great expectations. But people must know that these expectations are realistic and feasible. But this requires that the most capable and most talented people should head the echelons of power and the national economy.

That is the meaning of 1988. All these problems, all the innovations which happened last year, will emerge even more powerfully and even more graphically in 1989, and it is therefore necessary to prepare, to learn the lessons of the past so as to control the situation and avoid trailing in the wake of events. This is what party organizations must do. This must be a manifestation of their vanguard role.

The most important point is that restructuring has captivated our society, restructuring is on its way. Despite, I repeat, the contradictory nature of the process, despite all the difficulties in the struggle against elements of demagoguery and extremism in various spheres. This is still happening, unfortunately. But, comrades, there is less and less of it as real restructuring advances.

Workers' control is now unfolding, so let there be total workers' control. We do not need total war, but what we do need is total workers' control. Restructuring has already taken the shape of a nationwide movement, nobody can halt it now. Someone who is steeped in corruption and some sort of criminal ties, or someone who is a decadent adventurist might speak up against restructuring. But neither would any longer gain support in society. Restructuring is having a very powerful effect on our cadres' work methods, in all spheres of management and leadership—and this is good. The unfolding of democracy and the democratization of soviets will make

this process all-embracing. Maybe some people would like to solve all problems in one fell swoop, but that is absurd, we cannot work in this fashion, we cannot follow this path.

In view of the tremendous role played by the capital in unfolding the processes of restructuring, the gorkom and the cadres working here bear great responsibility. I must say this bluntly: Now we are all working under pressure, and the pressure on Communists in the capital is that much greater. They face huge and diverse tasks and have a tremendous intellectual, scientific, and cultural potential. Everything that is happening here in the sphere of industry and municipal services is of tremendous importance and has an effect on the whole of restructuring in the country. This is no exaggeration. This is the scale of the activity of the gorkom and the capital's working people.

Therefore I have just one wish: Rise to the occasion, you have no alternative. You must cope with the mission of trailblazers.

The key to the conference is still the progress of restructuring. I asked that more thought be given to the report, and that party committee secretaries be prepared to make their contribution so that the standard of debate at the city party conference matches the scale of the responsibility for restructuring borne by the capital's party organization. Questions should be presented on a grander scale. It would be correct if you were to recall last year's city party conference. Many questions were presented from critical positions at that time, even though there were certain elements of rushing ahead. In principle, the critical tone was dictated by the real processes and difficulties accumulated in the capital. You must say what has been done in Moscow to improve the functioning of all spheres, especially those affecting the working people. For example, the municipal services sphere in such a large city is of exceptionally great importance. The time it takes people to get home or buy a few things after a day's hard work—this is very important, comrades. You must present the conference with an analysis of the way you are resolving these tasks, the adjustments you have had to make to the gorkom's activity, and the way you are mastering a style which is in harmony with democratization, glasnost, and an attentive attitude toward people.

Substantial alterations and major changes are taking place in the capital. You must not indulge in complacency or self-satisfaction. A sober and critical approach is needed toward everything, it is necessary to galvanize the activeness of party organization cadres. We see that these tendencies are gathering strength, and this is the correct key for ensuring that the forthcoming conference copes with the tasks facing it.

Many people today touched on the problem of interpreting the party's role at the present stage.

I think that today it is realized that the Central Committee January plenum and subsequent plenums, and the 19th party conference in particular, have given us a correct understanding of the party's tasks, functions, and role. The party must make greater use of its potential as society's political vanguard. Theoretically everything seems to be clear. It is necessary for soviets to start working and for economic organs and management organs to find their position. We can deepen the work in all areas by separating functions.

I think that, both theoretically and politically, we have arrived at correct decisions. But what does this mean in practice? At present it is hard to give a comprehensive answer. First of all, I would assign a leading position to galvanizing and imparting more dynamism to all processes of party life in primary organizations. The primary party organization and party collectives must now feel differently, they must now lead a different life. The things that the report and election campaign has proved are highly substantial and important. These processes are already under way. The party will be unable to implement its potential as the political vanguard unless the role and position of primary party organizations and of Communists are changed. This is what I would set as the paramount and key task.

Next, it seems to me that equal importance attaches to work style, to methods geared to ideological work, links with working people, attention to working people's life, democracy, and support for democratic processes in the country. This, comrades, is still a difficult process. In one way or another, in one situation or another, we are quick to slip back to the old methods which do not always work now. Some people are eager to issue edicts and give instructions to curb glasnost and unsponsored organizations.

We lose out, comrades, wherever we are belated in interpreting processes. These problems are then taken up by other forces, all sorts of demagogues and antisocial elements. But if our methods are correctly coordinated, we will not be belated. We will rely on healthy social forces, we will value their contribution, and we will more successfully get rid of extremism and negativism.

Someone here raised the question of nomenclature. One thing is clear: The party must find new work methods in pursuing its cadre policy in the conditions of democracy. Let me tell you that the number of mistakes is constantly declining. It is taking a long time, but the number of mistakes is declining. Mistakes occur if there is no consultation with the collective or the aktiv. Whereas if there is democratic preparation and elaboration of proposals for meetings and conferences, mistakes do not occur as a rule. People know who the real leaders are, they know who is worth what better than we do, better than any poll of ours. The party must pursue its cadre policy within the framework of the democratic process, it must seek new approaches at all levels.

Today's meeting is further proof that the processes in the city organization are actively under way, that they encompass all spheres of the capital's life. This is good, because we have just one capital and we want the party, soviet, and economic work here to live up to the high reputation of our vast state's capital. I wish you a successful city party conference and major successes in 1989. (Applause)

Gorbachev, Zaykov Visit Kvant Association 9 Jan
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[Report by special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev on the visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov to the Kvant scientific production association in Moscow on 9 January]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov began their familiarization with the Kvant association with an exhibition of its output. The Kvant association specializes in electricity sources for various purposes and in other production without which scientific and technical processes are impossible. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev graphically described this output as intelligent.

In what other way is Kvant interesting? It is interesting for the fact that its director, Yuriy Vladimirovich Sokolov, has become the chairman of the board of the first concern which is independent of ministries. We are talking about an interindustry state association which has united several high technology and machine-building enterprises. It is interesting that the task has been set here of attaining from each R1 invested in science a yield of up to R5-10 of new goods production. A unique control system has been developed here at this interindustry state association. It makes it possible to identify reserves for economic development, both reserves of cadres and scientific-technical reserves. I asked the developers if this system could be called: Death to Bureaucracy. They burst out laughing and said, not yet, but that was what they are striving for.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov were very interested precisely in the new developments in production control.

[Begin recording] [?Gorbachev] I think it's good.

[Unidentified speaker] This is a control system.

[?Gorbachev] (?It covers all your requirements?)

[Speaker] Yes, we are presently negotiating with the Ministry of Communications on special telephone channels to link our outposts up to this control system. Then we will draw into this control system everyone who has come into our association, and then we will....

[?Gorbachev interrupting] Yes, all this....

[Speaker] We have drawn up our own original program and mathematical methods.

[?Gorbachev] Good. [end recording]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov then met with representatives of the labor collective and of party and public organizations.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] You know, if we are going to talk about it, in my opinion the strongest aspect of Kvant's experience is that a search for the organizational restructuring of economic relations is united here with scientific-technical progress. In many of our labor collectives there is not enough of this. They are going over to new forms, shall we say, they are going over to financial autonomy—they are even assimilating financial autonomy within an industry. All this is good, but at the same time they are displaying more concern, displaying concern primarily about how to raise salaries more quickly.

[?Zaykov] We need economic progress along with scientific-technical progress.

[Gorbachev] I can tell you that this is in general what we are doing. If there is production growth and greater output of the necessary quality, of the necessary standard, and if there are consumer goods with good consumer properties, that's good. Let salaries rise in connection with this, too. But no. It turns out that in many collectives what is happening is simply this: Taking advantage of their new position of a legal enterprise with control over their resources, they are falling into (?crude) egoism, shall we say, as if an opportunity, a chance had opened up for them and had to be seized while the going is good.

[?Zaykov] Thinking about the present moment....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] As if they intended only to live this year or the next 2-3 years. I can see how at Kvant they have linked economics with technology and have seen today, tomorrow, and the distant future at the same time. It turned out that for growth to proceed, for it to be possible to have good economic conditions and to create stable conditions for growth in salaries too, it turned out that it was necessary to make a link and to define over what period production should be replaced. The shorter it is, the more there will be for the output of series, the more results there will be in the economy, and the more contributions for funds. Just see how they interact. It's interesting, very interesting.

I confess honestly that I haven't understood everything, but I've caught the essence. I have requested that from this development, which I consider very important—it has been made very thoroughly, I can see, and it has already been set up for production now and, so to speak, there are already prospects on the basis of this approach—it is necessary now that a simple, comprehensible recommendation in any labor collective go out from this development of yours. Well, I believe that it will be possible to do that.

[Unidentified speaker] Here is Valeriy Aleksandrovich. He is chairman of the council of the labor collective.

[Gorbachev] What is the mood in the labor collective, Valeriy Aleksandrovich? Can one say, so to speak, that everyone is participating in this business and knows why everything that has been proposed by the management and the scientific section is being done?

[?Valeriy Aleksandrovich] To say absolutely....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Well, probably, that will be so, then. Well, all the same.

[?Valeriy]...greater part with interest and understanding, all the more since Yuriy Vladimirovich organized techno-economic seminars—that's what he was telling you about today. In general, for 3 months, first of all, the council of labor collective improved their economic knowledge, in order....

[Gorbachev] Mm. Yes, yes, yes.

[?Valeriy]...to know where to go.

[Gorbachev] Correct.

[?Valeriy] You see....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] To support or not to support.

[Valeriy] Yes, because all the documents on organization and methods which were elaborated in our enterprise by Yuriy Vladimirovich in general, of course, passed through the council of the labor collective, and virtually all of them were approved by the council, alongside the general director. The council understood them. I believe that there was also merit in the fact that the economic knowledge of the council members had been enhanced. This seminar, which has now completed its function, because it has been going on for several months already, was planned in the beginning for chiefs of economic services, economists, and managers—but it is also being attended simply by members of the labor collective, our employees, who are interested in understanding why cooperatives are now earning thousands of rubles each and what is threatening us or, the other way round, what prospects we have.

[Gorbachev] I believe that much of what is taking place in the cooperative movement here is connected with the initial phase. Everything must happen and find its place there. It cannot be that, with lower labor productivity....

[?Valeriy, interrupting] With low quality.

[Gorbachev] ...sometimes even with low quality, and suddenly there were some unjustified incomes. That I must...[Gorbachev changes thought] Everything will find its place. But a cooperative such as yours, I think is a cooperative which will really get going and ought to survive. I think just as when you were here, Yuriy Vladimirovich, with some other comrades, someone said, this Chabanov, what he said was: We are blamed—or rather, I am—for coming up with hare-brained schemes, I am blamed for the fact that I put forward the idea of arriving at wages of R1,000 or R1,500, or R1,500-R2,000 by the year 2000. But, he says, I connect this with the program that we have to go for, and with the labor productivity that we have to have. In this sense, when we have financial autonomy, new forms of relations and scientific-technological progress proceeding alongside, I think that the prospects are certain, they are certain.

[Unidentified speaker] Our collective has this confidence.

[Gorbachev] Good. Good. Well, your production, as far as we have been able to have a look and become acquainted with it, is interesting, clever production. It is good that you have even tackled this problem, since we have the press here and one can say that is should be resolved once and for all—I have in mind the electrical battery cells that are getting our public into such a state that one cannot put up with it any more. It turns out that the ideas of these batteries which are produced abroad is your development. Well, comrades, that is simply a shameful phenomenon. Now we are chasing after these foreign-made batteries. But now, I can now say this on television, it seems that you have arrived at a new development, and as far as I understand, by 1991, or 1992, yes? By 1991 the problem will be no more for the country, and moreover the opportunity opens up for you to go into the broad market, the international one, because you can offer products that are better than the batteries today being used in the world. Well, you know, that is good. That is what you get from a fusion of science and production.

[Unidentified speaker] We are allocating a shop on the rayon's territory, they [words indistinct] direct sales.

[Gorbachev] Well, I think you are doing the right thing, starting in your own rayon, (?so they can sense the collective is here in the rayon).

[?Zaykov] They will go into the shops throughout the city.

[Gorbachev] Well, tell me, what do you reckon, how is life going for us in our country, in Moscow, what did you want to say to me and to Lev Nikolayevich? In general, how are things here? [pause] Well, I can see that you are, after all, in favor of restructuring, because you yourselves are in the vanguard of restructuring. I must say that; but in general, what worries you, perhaps you have some wishes to tell us. In general, what is the mood, then, comrades?

[Unidentified speaker] It is interesting.

[Gorbachev] Interesting. There I concur with you, first of all. It is interesting. You know, I even said this phrase when I was meeting with the representatives of science and literature, what I said was this: You know what, I will never believe that our people, understanding that we all need restructuring, all of us, both young and old, and especially for the country as a whole so that it should embark on a wide road and stride along it, will ever, because of temporary difficulties, even acute difficulties connected with both goods and food—let alone other matters connected with mastering new forms of organizing work—that our people will falter and give up restructuring. There have been other such turning-points in history, and they have not given up. I am convinced of this. No matter what anyone says to me.

Even when workers deliver sharp criticism, this is good and it doesn't simply mean that they have become uncompromising. The next step from sharp criticism is constructive work. It is true that there are people who have been deflected into just criticizing and I would not even say criticizing, because you see criticism as such always contains an appraisal of a situation, you know, and there is always a constructive element present, a proposal on how to resolve things. But if criticism is limited to only one side of a matter, then this is...well, I don't even know that it is criticism. It is a substitute for criticism. [indistinct words from speaker in the background] It's carping [kritikanstvo], peevishness, eh? You're right in what you say. [laughter]

Well then, the first thought is that life has become interesting; second, creative. Who has anything more to add?

[Unidentified woman] There is now direct interest in developing things more quickly, more quickly, and conversely....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, yes, and to push your entire mechanism toward this.

[Woman] We are oriented precisely toward this.

[Gorbachev] What about the young people? Who represents the young people here?

[Unidentified man] You know, (?we have been set) several specific tasks. Young people's collectives have been formed here, and there are people there who at the present time are working with them.

[Second unidentified man] We have now created a temporary scientific-production collective for young people, especially so that they should form the future appearance of the enterprise. We have tasks to design.

[Gorbachev] Aha.

[Second man] We have entrusted this only to young people. They have their own difficulties. They are not ready to apprehend. They need to be taught. They need to be helped. We have now organized our own school of managers. We are working out methods. This has also turned out not to be straightforward. Methods, approaches [words indistinct] those who are most energetic and stand out.

[Gorbachev] I believe that all our experience, in my opinion, and probably not just that of the country but also the personal experience of each of us, shows that a person nevertheless always grows and spreads his wings when he has something specific in hand. We do need discussion; we do need to research things; we do need comparisons of views; we do need to exchange them. That is necessary. A person cannot fulfill himself otherwise than in that way. But it is most fruitful when people are infected by one thing, something big. I believe that you have such a thing here at your enterprise.

[Second man] The collective [word indistinct] confidently.

[Gorbachev] It seems to me that you have such unexploited potential to develop at Kvant. It is colossal. Take these things in hand, for example, even things relating to medicine I have seen here. This is something that you can get, something for which there is a vast need in the country. And you can go beyond this with such things. The Americans and Western specialists are already fighting for them, they want them, and that means that you possess very valuable ideas.

[Unidentified speaker] Great interest has been shown, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Things must get moving, comrades. One must press ahead boldly. Furthermore, in recent years the opinion has become very widespread that we, you know, have allegedly gotten ourselves into such a mess, that people in our country are unfit to do anything, have no ideas or ability. But I must tell you, you just look: At present we are only just getting things started, getting things moving, and a breakthrough has already emerged. Interesting things are happening in aviation technology, interesting things in motor vehicle construction. The other day, I think, Minsk heavy trucks were shown: The Americans are taking dozens of these already. Now the don-1500, which aroused such a great deal of passion—people thought it was a mistake—has now been on trial in Canada, a famous center, and it surpassed the standard combine, the John Deere, by 80 percent. They bought 27 of those combines and ordered another 37 combines at $90,000 each.

Our science and technology and machine-building have now been set in motion. Perhaps not in the way we would like, but there has been a great rethinking, and this process is getting under way. You know, we always have had enough brains to solve tasks. I believe that now more than ever a great deal of potential has accumulated in our country. We must give it an outlet. [Unidentified speaker] When Western firms set up gigantic concerns, they buy scientisits. That's what the really big firms do. As a rule, this is not the practice in our country. The academies of sciences and the major institutes work separately, all these levels work in isolation, and the link-up between them leads very often to very important losses in terms of time and to scientific losses, too. Here we have managed to set up a very good sort of chain. We have a lot of specialists, physicists, chemists, and basic specialists like that. This is very important.

[Gorbachev] Here, I believe, a breakthrough is possible, a breakthrough is indeed possible when things are approached in that way. This experience must just be put at the country's disposal. You, of course, will say: But you just pay us! [laughter] (?Probably it would be considered so under socialism; in the given case that is not so). The motherland must live! Who is here to represent the workers?

[Unidentified speaker] Viktor Stepanovich.

[Gorbachev] So, Viktor Stepanovich, what is your job?

[Viktor Stepanovich] Tool and instrument maker in the instrument shop.

[Gorbachev] An instrument maker. Well now, how do you regard the Kvant enterprise from your instrument shop? How does it seem to you?

[Viktor Stepanovich] Kvant seems to be all right. There is a lot of economic training going on in the enterprise which provides a basis. Our directors do as Yuriy Vladimirovich does. We get a lot of training, too. The workers have started to understand a lot of things and have started calculating what is advantageous. The only thing that is a problem here, Mikhail Sergeyevich, is that we have very little good equipment here. With good machine tools we could achieve greater output and manufacture better special machinery. But very little equipment comes, and the funds we have slated for development are not used.

[Gorbachev] You are phrasing the question in the right way. But, you know, this is the approach we took. Let some other industries strain, as they say, for now to some extent, a bit, for 1-2 years but not get exhausted, nor have modernization introduced on old, obsolete equipment.

[Viktor Stepanovich] (?What the comrade says is right).

[Gorbachev] We are thus currently concentrating everything on electronics, and then machine-tool building. Everything is being decisively restructured. Instrument-building, everything is being restructured. Including the ministries supplying them: metallurgy, chemistry, nonferrous metallurgy. Everything has to be done together so that you really get the equipment you need.

[Viktor Stepanovich] We await it keenly, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] So that we are not talking about 5 or 20, 15, 20 percent [sentence as heard]. No. We need a new class of equipment.

[Viktor Stepanovich] That would be very good.

[Gorbachev] So, be patient. [Gorbachev laughs]

[Viktor Stepanovich] Our own machine-building is now being developed.

[Gorbachev] Of course, what you need to make yourselves needs to be made. Incidentally, everyone in the industry is now doing that. Well, what are the workers talking about?

[Viktor Stepanovich] What are they saying? (?This is what they are talking about), all the problems facing the country. Most of them have a correct and patient understanding. They understand that there are difficulties, but they are temporary, and that we need to work better to eliminate them. The working class will understand that.

[Gorbachev] Right, I see. Very good. Indeed, it really is not possible to implement such a profound thing in such a way that it happens so easily.

[Viktor Stepanovich] Of course.

[Gorbachev] Well, listen, listen.

[Viktor Stepanovich] Enormous restructuring has started in the country.

[Gorbachev] Yes, and it is an enormous country, an enormous, profound restructuring. But at the same time we must all understand: Everything (?we) have conceived is for the people. The whole economy has now gone over to financial autonomy. This means a great deal. Now all of industry-based science is moving over from 1 January to financial autonomy. I am also sure that the working class, the working people, the working man understands. It's a problem when you are rebuilding a house, repainting the walls, and the country is so vast, you know....

[Viktor Stepanovich] The most important thing is to understand that we are drawing this load together.

[Gorbachev] Well, I can see that we need to carry on at the top. We need to do everything we can to make this thing happen. Life is more interesting, and we are in the mood to carry on. I'd put it to you like this: the present leadership is firmly dedicated to the course upon which we have embarked. I don't want to depict this course in some kind of rosy hue. No. It is not easy for us to put it into practice, it is not easy. And we can see that we have already made mistakes in places. We made mistakes, not our predecessors, but we. Well, you know, we'll learn, we'll learn everything and move forward. That is our destiny. In this sense it seems to me that there is understanding between the leadership and the people. [end recording]

Account of 6 Jan Science, Culture Meeting

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[TASS report under general heading: "To Build Up the Intellectual Potential of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] As reported, a meeting with figures active in science and culture was held in the CPSU Central Committee 6 January. The following is an account of the meeting. [passage omitted]

G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that restructuring in the Academy began with changes in cadre policy, which had to be brought into line with the new tasks set by life. As a matter of fact, about 150 of the 250 directors in the USSR Academy of Sciences were democratically elected in the recent past. Some 100 new chief editors of journals have taken office. Democratization is under way in all our components, and the Academy of Sciences is changing its work style.

Previously the social sciences were considered secondary, and social scientists were assigned the role of commentators. The worst thing was that we failed to train young replacements who could more actively pursue restructuring. The social sciences are now undergoing a revival, especially economics and sociology. We need decisions on the development of psychology, ethics, and other sciences necessary for society's development. If we look at the natural sciences, here, too, there are many problems inherited from the time of stagnation, when a correct appraisal of the role of science and scientists in society's life was lacking for a long time.

The president of the USSR Academy of Sciences went on to point out the problems existing in mutual relations between scientists and the press and expressed satisfaction with the CPSU Central Committee decision to establish the newspaper NAUKA I VYSSHAYA SHKOLA [Science and Higher Education] which will provide a forum for scientists and make it possible to supply society with a correct and prompt scientific assessmenmt of events.

G.I. Marchuk then went on to dwell on the question of integrating the efforts of the union academy and union republic academies of sciences.

Another problem we have to solve in the process of restructuring, he said, involves the elimination of the major negative consequences of the separation of 103 institutes representing technical sciences, including computer technology, machine building, and power industry institutes, from the Academy of Sciences more than 20 years ago.

Now we are approaching a new rule-of-law state, new political institutions are being created whose purpose is to help accelerate scientific and technical progress through the active involvement of scientists in decision-making and monitoring at state level. For this purpose it is necessary to elect to our legislative organs competent professionals who are profoundly dedicated to the cause of restructuring.

This meeting is very timely, writer B.I. Oleynik said. We, he went on, are learning the culture of debate as we go along, as it were. But what can you do, we are the children of our time.

We must put an end to departmental feuds through joint efforts, because the state has so many problems that it is improper to pursue and to waste time, energy, and paper on the satisfaction of personal ambitions. I speak mainly of myself as party member. We must set a personal example of what restructuring means and the way we must all work together for restructuring, to which there is no alternative.

The speaker then went on to touch on interethnic relations. In the Ukraine, he said, these problems have started moving along constructive tracks, even though "aberrations of nature" still exist. In principle, however, everyone knows that each and every republic's statehood is guaranteed only within the fraternal community, while some actually gained it thanks only to Soviet power.

S.V. Mikhalkov, chairman of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board: Restructuring demands the consolidation of all forces of society, including literary workers. But, in the speaker's opinion, this is not realized by all leaders of journals and newspapers. I am wholly in agreement with the workers from the "Kalibr" plant [allusion unknown], he said, and this is not the only plant I could mention. I have occasion to meet readers and answer their questions. What is the image that the writer presents to people now? After all, our journals and newspapers keep picking on always the same literary figures. The question is: Who needs this? The speaker gave a number of specific examples, especially from two issues of the journals OGONEK and MOSKVA, to argue the incorrectness of literary debates and a number of assessments.

In his opinion, it is especially important at this time to revive the lost culture of creative debates. In this regard the RSFSR Writers' Union must also display more party-mindedness.

M.S. Gorbachev: Sergey Vladimirovich, maybe our literary figures should apply the principle of unilateral disarmament? (animation, applause)

Restructuring in the Baltic region, the poet Ya. Peters said in his speech, has become for the people of this region what the Great October Socialist Revolution was for these republics. It is not for nothing that we say that there is currently a revival of faith in socialism in the Baltic region. This is very important and must be held dear. The speaker expressed a wish that central newspapers should, in his view, evaluate more objectively the processes of the democratization of social life in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Today a respected poet, who has been invited to Riga, put this question to me: "Will it be possible to read poetry in Russian there?" I wish to assure you, the speaker declared, that people in our republic are very clearly aware of who is who, regardless of nationality. No conflict exists between Letts and Russians, let us say, in Latvia. There is only a conflict between the participants in restructuring and their opponents.

Ya. Peters raised in his speech the problem of the ecological condition of the city of Ventspils. The speaker also dwelt on the problem of strengthening the union republic's sovereignty. Our demand for sovereignty, he declared, is tantamount to a demand for a strong center. For this can in no way be formed of weak republics—a strong whole cannot emerge from weak [melkiy] components. If all power in the republics belongs to the soviets, then strong, independent sovereign republics will be created and will form a strong whole—the USSR.

V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, dwelt on the theme of the practical return obtained from the social sciences. At the first stage of restructuring political decisions were outrunning scientific recommendations. The second stage of political reform now has better backup in the scientific respect. This applies to judicial reform and the reform of local management and local soviets. Regional economic accountability now has a basis beneath it.

There are a number of very serious, specific questions among those that are unresolved. For example, the interests of different social sections of the population.

There is no analysis of the psychology of social awareness—particularly national psychology, which has not been tackled. Our central task is to create a concept of modern socialism in all its aspects. Here we must analyze realities, and models are needed, since a model is the goal toward which we must move. If there are no optimum models in the economy, in politics, in social awareness, in culture and social psychology, it will be hard to go on working.

The central organizational question relates to the mechanism of the link between social science and political practice, a mechanism which did not previously exist. This question consists of three elements. The first is the social imperative. Certain elements of the social imperative have now, at last, begun to appear. The second element, which depends more on scientists, is depth of analysis. There is still no full depth of analysis. This is associated with cadres, with the level of knowledge, with the use of world experience. This can be said of every science. The third element is feedback. Scientists frequently do not get a response to their recommendations. There is probably some result, and recommendations make their mark in the consciousness of those who make the decision. But scientists must be able to see the results of their work, particularly in the social sciences, although this is harder than in technology.

The writer D.A. Granin pointed out that among the many problems raised at this meeting which have been of concern to him in recent years, he would pay special attention to the problem of charity. The charity society has been in existence less than a year, but we have seen for ourselves that people miss compassion and are fed up with living in a dehydrating atmosphere of callousness, indifference, egotism, self-love, and profit.

A meeting of action groups was held recently with a view to setting up charity societies in all the major cities of the union. We say little about this movement, and we consciously do not wish to say much about it—we do not want to because it is quite a chaste movement which fears all publicity. This is not just a purely moral motive but some very interesting contemporary social phenomenon of our present society, which obviously needs a softer kind of morality [smyagcheniye nravov]. The shortage of charity is quite significant today. Too much evil has accumulated, too much injustice has accumulated. The state of constant struggle in everything and everywhere, in all areas, is putting people off balance. People want to help one another, people want to show compassion, people want sympathy.

D.A. Granin drew attention to the fact that the action groups for the creation of charity societies are encountering incomprehensible opposition from state institutions in their cities, which believe that they alone must engage in charity and social aid. The creation of charity societies needs delicate help.

The composer G.V. Sviridov dwelt on some problems of musical life today. We have witnessed in society an awakening of profound interest in the Russian word, thought, and the truth about its own people and their destiny. This interest has so far been satisfied far from fully. People have poor knowledge of their own musical culture. There are too many "blanks." Although we are trying little by little to fill in ignorance, proper work on the study of musical culture is only just beginning. It will take a lot of time and effort.

UNESCO has proclaimed the new year, 1989, the year of Modest Petrovich Moussorgsky. This year the "Muzyka" Publishing House is beginning the publication of the first volumes of the full academic collection of his works. This is the first-ever academic collection of the works of a Russian composer. We hope that the publication, which has been several years in preparation, will find its way onto the shelves of sheet music libraries throughout the world and will usher in similar collections of other classics of Russian music.

G.V. Sviridov expressed the opinion that questions of music criticism are sore subjects in our life and in musicology. People now ask any musician involved in the discussion of music, above all, what his attitude is to light music and why it is propagandized so insistently. I myself wish to put this question here, the composer said. Why, indeed, do we play so much music of indifferent quality? I am not against it in general, but everything is good in moderation. Entire generations of young people are being brought up under conditions of musical cultural inadequacy, so to speak. We must all give some thought to this.

G.V. Sviridov went on to express satisfaction that the culture of church singing has gained its rightful place in the country. It has to be said that we are talking in this case not only of Russian music but also of the music of Ukrainians, Belorussians, Georgians, Armenians. We are acquiring a tremendous new stratum of music. What is more, our art and culture are acquiring a far greater history. We are sometimes the target of the charge that Russian culture was borrowed from Europe and that, strictly speaking, it began only with Glinka. That is quite wrong. We have now gained this unique asset, which must be carefully studied and, of course, performed. There are truly immortal specimens among such music which produce a very deep impression to this day. In conclusion the composer dwelt on the problem of educating creative youth.

The writer A.M. Adamovich took the floor. I believe, he said, that the whole line of restructuring, which is determined from above, is taking a Leninist route. Speaking of the significance of the 19th party conference, the speaker emphasized that progress was the victor, because very strong political and legal foundations were provided for the movement of restructuring.

At the same time the writer expressed concern at the fact that in some places, particularly locally—in republics and oblasts—social initiative is again being restricted. By way of an example he referred to the events which took place in Minsk 30 October last year. In the writer's opinion, the role of the creative intelligentsia in restructuring is underestimated in Belorussia, and a negative opinion of individual cultural figures is created.

He also touched on the formation of the "Memorial" public fund. A good CPSU Central Committee resolution has just been published, the writer said. This states that there will be not just one memorial and not only in Moscow. It is very important that deputies' commissions will tackle this. But I believe that no deputies' commission will take the place of one boy who collected tens of thousands of documents—the files of those repressed. All the neglected graves must be put in order.

M.S. Gorbachev: A search is being made in the country. People are finding burial places. They must be fenced off and put in order. Hands are needed, the attention of party and soviet organs is needed. And, of course, public participation is needed—both things. This is why the resolution states: A proposal is to be adopted that commissions should carry out such work locally with the participation of the public.

V.A. Korotich, chief editor of the journal OGONEK, dwelt on questions of raising the standard of debate, consolidating the forces of the creative intelligentsia, and developing its activeness in resolving the tasks of restructuring. It seems to me, the speaker pointed out, that a very interesting process is now being defined and is taking place. A new trust in Soviet power is maturing and taking shape in the people little by little, by degrees. Our tremendous successes in the international arena are obvious. The people are beginning to become more active, frightening certain chiefs. Such chiefs still have administrative abilities—sometimes considerable ones—but do not have the ideological abilities connected with restructuring which enable them to retain their authority with the people. A correct assessment must be made of this administrative pessimism.

While being destroyed, the administrative system is being shored up by the directive literature and art which it itself created. They are interconnected and cannot fall separately. In the speaker's opinion, a whole number of figures seek to present their own personal misfortune of their own perishing omnipotence as a tragedy for the country and the system. This panic is associated with the creation of tension and a state of alarm in society, which has, at last, tackled a real and very complex matter.

I wish to emphasize, the speaker went on to say, that never before has our journal received so many confident and optimistic letters full of faith in our system and its potential. We receive a huge number of letters welcoming restructuring.

I consider it my duty to end squabbles over trifles, V. Korotich said. Today we must think about the strategic aim of what is happening in the country. Any inaccuracy by a journalist under conditions of restructuring threatens a process which transcends the well-being and the cause of each of us personally.

N.I. Sats, artistic director and producer of the Children's Music Theater, mounted the rostrum. In every time a certain human quality is the chief one, she said. It seems to me that honesty is most important or our time. When people ask me what my attitude to glasnost is, I reply: When glasnost is the sister of honesty, I bow down before it. But when glasnost is a means of pursuing personal profit, I do not acknowledge it. When people ask me what my attitude to restructuring is, I reply: I bow down before restructuring. It is essential. But when someone pursues personal interests and settles personal scores under the guise of restructuring, I am suspicious.

We cannot live without faith and optimism. Therefore, when Korotich begins to "go too far," I say to him: OGONEK goes too far.

The Great October Revolution, she went on to say, also ushered in the following marvel. Children of the poor, who did not have enough bread, suddenly got their own theaters and cultural centers and were enabled to listen to music created for them. N.I. Sats shared her thoughts on the history of the development of the children's music theater in our country, on the true devotees of art, on the traditions and ethics of the Soviet creative intelligentsia, and on its service to the ideals of humanism and the socialist renewal of society. Her speech laced special emphasis on the need to enhance the responsibility of producers for the ideological, artistic, esthetic, and ethical standard of productions for children and juveniles and to observe tact and a sense of proportion and taste in this.

I think with sadness of the way restructuring sometimes takes place in the spheres of culture, ideology, and literature, A.S. Ivanov, chief editor of the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, said. In his opinion, some Soviet publications, such as OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the Latvian magazine RODNIK, and others, sometimes propagandize petit bourgeois and bourgeois views. Alternative publications must be opened up to deal a rebuff to such views. Such potential must be created.

There has been, is, and will be an ideological struggle. We need glasnost, democracy, and restructuring as we need air. This is obvious. But it is also obvious that if nuances are shifted and emphases moved it is possible to hide behind glasnost, democracy, and the word "restructuring" and fight for aims which are opposite to these concepts...

M.S. Gorbachev: This is true, but I am afraid that at this stage, when restructuring has entered deep strata among the people, affects all institutions and all spheres of life, and, naturally, is attended by great debates and arguments, some scientists and other representatives of the intelligentsia will get the desire to advance the theory that the political struggle is being intensified with the progress and development of restructuring. By the way, I feel this from the letters I receive. We will resolutely travel the path of restructuring, for we are devoted to it, but we will take the path of democracy, glasnost, responsibility, and order, not of unbridledness nor, conversely, of a "firm hand."

If we have reached this conclusion and if we have seen the triumph of morality and the conviction that the socialist ideal is correct, that it is a system conceived for the people, and that it must be reoriented so that it reveals itself and puts forward the person as the central figure in all social life, then let us all be worthy of this system and not employ a collection of the worst means—neither ours nor, still less, borrowed ones. For we possess everything—intellectual potential, tremendous

resources, and an educated people who love their country and are capable of breaking with everything that has swaddled, held, and fettered us and prevented us from moving forward. Let us, comrades, judge things from principled positions, but respectfully, constructively, and without labels. We must understand one another and, chiefly, not forget that the people are following restructuring very attentively.

A.S. Ivanov: I will cite an example to make my anxiety clear. I am reading Voynovich's novel "The Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin" in issue No 12 of the journal YUNOST. In my view, it is slanderous—both against the Soviet Army and against the Soviet soldier who saved the world from fascism.

The poet Ye.A. Yevtushenko: The culture of any society is determined, above all, by the culture of human merit. The key to solutions of the economic and spiritual problems of restructuring lies in raising the personal human merit of every citizen, in raising the national merit of every people of our country. But there is another merit, no less important than personal and national merit—international merit.

Great-power chauvinism and, at the same time, any petty egoistic nationalisms which negate the Russian people's positive contribution to world history under the guise of asserting independence derive equally from low sociopolitical culture and a low level of understanding of merit.

All peoples have identical enemies. They are wars, natural disasters, disease, the difficulties of everyday life, mutual mistrust, lack of freedom, bureaucracy, any oppression of human personality, and any abasement of human merit.

Speaking of so-called shortages, the speaker emphasized the most pernicious of them—the book shortage. He cited the words of a woman reader, a crane operator: "We have already cut down half the Siberian taiga for tedious brochures." A huge quantity of paper is used in interdepartmental correspondence, and so forth. But there is a book shortage in the country.

I believe, the speaker said in conclusion, that the success of restructuring can be guaranteed by a combination of three merits: personal merit, national merit, and international merit. They must be inseparable.

Without the success of restructuring, Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, said in his speech, it is impossible to strengthen our social values, strengthen the party's prestige, and do what is most important—give people a worthy life, working conditions, and the potential to develop their spiritual abilities. But if no problems with regard to clarity of aims, the theory of restructuring, and the correctness of this political course arise, the tactics, approaches, and means of resolving economic tasks sometimes give rise to concern. Elements of a campaign approach and the search for simple solutions, for a magic wand, the only means capable of resolving everything, unfortunately make themselves felt. We struggled for the team contract, and now we are struggling for the lease. No one disputes the fact that this is one of the most progressive forms. But why turn it into a campaign? Different forms may take shape in the Baltic region and in Central Asia. We must not adjust them all to the same yardstick.

M.S. Gorbachev: Even two kolkhozes and sovkhozes situated next to each other may choose different paths...

L.I. Abalkin: Let them seek and choose the form that suits them. For this all our resolutions and laws must not be rigid but provide sufficient freedom to choose, maneuver, and compare. If they want to work without the lease, let them. If they do not, let them not use it. [previous two sentences as published] In 2-3 years' time life itself will bring them onto this path.

Conditions are changing, and we must also change tactics without abandoning either the aims or the ultimate meaning of the reform. We need a program to improve the economy, a 2-3-year program of very large-scale radical measures which, clearly, we must take with us to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Touching on problems of interethnic relations, S.A. Baruzdin, chief editor of the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV, expressed the opinion that they need to be resolved without delay, for many of them are extremely painful. At the same time the speaker referred to the incorrect—in his opinion—actions of the authorities in the Crimean Oblast's Bakhchisarayskiy Rayon with regard to certain Tatar families who arrived to take up permanent residence.

The speech pointed to lack of proper monitoring of the fulfillment of adopted decisions. Last year, for example, two decisions on literary and artistic journals were adopted. A new copyright law was signed, under which a writer's real royalties appear to increase 50 percent. What happened in fact? The publishing houses and the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade plucked just one point from all these resolutions: to add an international observer grade to the staff of all heavyweight journals. Everything else disappeared into the sand. The speaker dwelt on unresolved problems in the publishing world.

The dearest things to me, Academician N.P. Bekhtereva, director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Institute of Experimental Medicine, said, are my family, my science, and, now, our restructuring, my restructuring. I do not regard restructuring as if it were something that happens outside me, and I must make whatever contribution I can to it. I believe that for all who are really aware of what restructuring means, this must be as dear as their home, their work, and even, probably, more.

The activities of those who are for restructuring and those who are against it intersect at a number of crossroads. A clash of sabers is heard on the question of Stalin. What attitude is to be taken to this figure? He had merits, he had no merits, he was responsible for his actions—jointly responsible or solely responsible—and so forth. I would like to express my position on this question, and I must say it because LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has carried an article on paranoia in Stalin. Stalin was undoubtedly a criminal. He must be treated as

a criminal. There may have been paranoia—here I can neither dispute nor defend my grandfather's diagnosis—but paranoia as a syndrome in no way removes responsibility for actions. Paranoia in itself is no absolution, and it offers no release either from rewards for something done ell or from the judgment of history. I am very pleased that the process of reconsidering rehabilitation cases will be speeded up. This measure must undoubtedly be implemented as quickly as possible.

N.P. Bekhtereva went on to say that the human brain is an amazingly complex device, and by getting to know it we can get to know very many events in society and social phenomena. The latter are so linked with the natural laws of the brain's working that nothing happens in the world without being begun in our brain. In the study of the human brain and intellect we have now acquired a totally new possibility, a possibility which did not exist before—there will be an institute of man. By getting to know the matural laws of man, his brain, and his organization—and this must form the basis of the institute's work—we will understand far better questions of our human interaction. And, naturally, I hope that this will serve restructuring.

The writer I.P. Drutse: The greatest achievement of restructuring is the fact that it has awakened the voice of the ordinary person. If we lose the voice of the masses and the people we lose popular consciousness and thus the people simply becomes the population and this must by no means be allowed to happen. We can't, of course, make any progress unless we awaken the people's sense of honor and restore their diligence and morality in the popular sense.

Ecology was the second problem dwelt on by the speaker. This is an uncommonly complex and dynamic problem. What is happening in the south, in Moldavia? There are 120,000 wells in Moldavian villages and in many of them the water is bad from the medical viewpoint.

The formation of the rule-of-law state was another problem touched on by the speaker. The concept of the "people" has become so emasculated in our country over the years that it has become virtually synonymous with the word "nobody." The village of Sosnovka, for instance, possesses 5,000 hectares. To whom does the land belong? The people. Who are the people here?—the inhabitants of Sosnovka. Consequently, these 5,000 hectares are the land of the people of Sosnovka—their property. Once we've grasped that, we'll be able to get rid of the pesticides and increase the harvest as well.

The speaker also devoted attention in his speech to questions of mutual relations between the state and the church.

I think, R.A. Bykov, movie director and secretary of the USSR Union of Cinema Workers Board, said, that there is an artificial divide in our society, in our state, and among our people—a legacy of the past. We often perceive things in parochial and compartmentalized terms. Some people in our country are employed in culture, others in the economy, and still others in finance. But man is the same and this all comes together in his life, it's all combined, it's all interconnected.

The humanization of education and the humanization of our entire life are indissoluble. From this viewpoint no expense should be spared on education and on improving it. It is worth thinking, he said, about how we are shaping man. The economy that was "economical" and was notable solely for the fact that it urged expenditure to be as small as possible, saying that then we would be richer, did not pay off. The speaker examined the situation in children's cinema from these positions.

Children's cinema can be boosted but it is interconnected with problems of education and cultural construction, with economic problems, and the problems of electronics. Everything can be done. If there's no money, our state still has one other profitable card up its sleeve—independence. There must be independence and there must be trust in the people who undertake the job.

Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences U.S. and Canada Institute: Foreign policy is an important avenue of restructuring. Here there has been an accumulation of quantitative changes which in the last 6 months—possibly, in the last few months in particular—have begun to develop into qualitative changes. People abroad have already begun to realize that what the Soviet Union has initiated and is doing is a global phenomenon on which the future of all mankind depends.

With regard to the economic sphere, the academician expressed concern at the fact that the question of the sphere of distribution had virtually not been raised. We are increasing production and everything is being swallowed up by our trade, public catering, storage, and processing industries as if by a "black hole."

The speaker pointed out that there is a great lack of coordination and a great deal of sharp practice in cooperatives and in the state system of public catering, and the actual conditions themselves in which people are placed often help dishonesty and confusion to flourish. The norms for legalized pilfering were enshrined in the fifties.

M.S. Gorbachev: Clearly, shortages are making an impact on all this. We have instructed the AUCCTU to organize total supervision, worker's supervision around the country. This has only just begun to appear. People are profiting from and speculating on the shortages. That is why, in addition to expanding production, distribution questions should also be taken firmly in hand.

G.Ya. Baklanov, editor in chief of ZNAMYA magazine, devoted his speech to a number of economic and moral problems of restructuring. In particular, he expressed the viewpoint that the shortage of a number of types of goods and products in our stores is no coincidence. People are saying that this is a form of opposition to restructuring. I think that this is a serious matter. These next 2 years are extremely important now, the speaker continued. It will take 2 years for things in the stores to improve a little.

M.S. Gorbachev: When we asked one leaseholder: What attracted you to the lease? The fact that you earn more?, he replied: It pays. Generally, someone like me, a professional, always has a tractor operating and so I'm

always earning money. That wasn't my problem. I am attracted by the fact that I can put my plans into practice and plan other things. That is why you can't reduce everything to rubles or goods. I will never believe that our people will abandon restructuring solely because there has been a shortage of something or other in the stores. They did not abandon socialism at a time of most grave trials. They will not abandon restructuring for this if an atmosphere is established in which people want to go to work and there is respect for human dignity, if there is less discourtesy, and if people want to listen to you. Furthermore, what you said has now been set in motion. Inasmuch as I can know our people, I merely believe that they won't follow that road, although, of course, it is extremely important for us to organize supplies for people and we will apply the maximum of effort to this.

Continuing his speech, G.Ya. Baklanov stressed that ZNAMYA and its authors are resolutely opposed to participating in a debate with other publications if it is held at an undignified level. Extreme and embittered opinions do not befit the Soviet intelligentsia and damage the common cause.

In his speech writer V.P. Astafyev voiced doubts about the timliness of the recently adopted Law on the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR. In Krasnoyarsk, he said, working people were instructed to hold a rally on... an island. What kind of democracy is that? He cited instances which, according to him, attest to excessive caution at local level in resolving the question of holding rallies and demonstrations.

M.S. Gorbachev: For your information, only 6-7 percent of rallies and demonstrations were banned and 93-94 percent were authorized. That's the first thing. Second: There are possibly cases where people whose task it is to observe the law don't obey either its framework or its ethics. We are, of course, not guaranteed against this. The whole world has its own extremely tough legislation on this score. People were alarmed by threats that arose here and there. Workers, peasants, and the overwhelming mass of people justly demanded that guaranteed order be ensured. What would have happened if the center had not taken stringent and urgent measures during the interethnic conflicts that came to a head in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The law is not against the people, it is for the people. We ourselves produced it. But I know you, Viktor Petrovich, as a blunt and open person. I am prepared to believe you. We must carry out investigations at local level and see how this law is being applied.

M.A. Ulyanov, chairman of the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers, was given the floor. I have heard a great deal, he said, about the Russian writers' plenum and I read the transcript recently. I am not interfering in any writers' affairs. But the tone of this transcript alarmed me. The embittered way in which people combated other viewpoints shook me. By and large, passions, tension, persecutory attacks, and clashes are gaining scope in our country and this is very dangerous. Very dangerous! That is why I want my voice to be added to the alarmed voices of many people. We will not help restructuring this way. That's a fact.

I am a member of the committee to create a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions. Some R600,000 and a great deal of hard currency have already been collected. I read that the Ministry of Culture will now build the monument. That's splendid. But why is the money that the people have collected to participate in the construction of a monument, a memorial, an archive, and a museum not being put to use?

In effect our entire life is wrapped up in restructuring, S.G. Zalygin, editor in chief of NOVYY MIR magazine said. When overt aggressive pressure is exerted on restructuring, that's not at all terrible. It strengthens us. It is another matter when restructuring is defended unskillfully and in a compromising manner. The truth cannot be defended by phony means. It requires equally true means. We often compromise it when we are defending it. We reached the kind of approach to life and the kind of compromise which, to my shame, arose in the Union of Writers. Some 3-4 years ago we could not have conceived of the situation that has now taken shape there. It looks as though writers seemingly lecture everyone, yet have reached that kind of state themselves.

A great deal of attention in the speech was devoted to ways of shaping public opinion, urgent economic and ecological problems, the consolidation of cultural figures, and the role of science in the modern world. I think, S.P. Zalygin said, that we need to think about the most serious problems of our life, ideological problems, and prognoses because we are confusing them with the daily occurrences of our existence. This is not the same thing. There are eternal problems and we must resolve them precisely today and not tomorrow.

It is impossible to live without internationalism, R.K. Ovanesyan, writer and chairman of the Armenian SSR Writers' Union Board, said. We should get rid of all the reasons which are causing interethnic hostility—wherever it occurs.

M.S. Gorbachev: I must remind you that we have created a Politburo commission under my leadership with the participation of representatives from the two sides—deputies from Azerbaijan and Armenia. On 11 January we must complete the discussion of this painful question. We had to break off because of the earthquake. A terrible disaster occurred. But this meeting had already been scheduled for 11 January...

R.K. Ovanesyan: On behalf of the Armenian people I would like to express our gratitude, to you personally, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, to all the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and to the writers and organizations who at the cruel, tragic, and testing time of the natural disaster gave unprecedented moral and material help. The republic newspapers have published an extensive account of the government and Central Committee decisions which set out in detail which republic is making what contribution to restoring the cities and villages that have suffered.

Speaking about restructuring in the interethnic sphere, the speaker cited the Leninist dream of a federation consisting of small and large national formations with equal rights.

Restructuring in Armenia, the speaker said, has been accepted by the people; the idea of restructuring is for us like long-awaited rain on parched land. [passage omitted]

Communique on CPSU Central Committee Plenum

LD1001114289 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 10 Jan 89

["Plenum—Communique"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee held another plenum on Tuesday.

It dealt with the following issues:

1. The nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

2. The CPSU Central Committee's address to the party and the Soviet people,

3. The holding of elections of USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

A report on these issues was delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum was addressed by Gumer Usmanov, first secretary of the Tataria region committee of the CPSU; Grigory Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev region committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; Nikolay Gribachev, editor-in-chief of the SOVIET UNION magazine and a secretary of the board of the Writers' Union of the USSR; and Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the board of the Writers' Union of the USSR.

The plenum nominated candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The list will be submitted for registration to the electoral commission for elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU in keeping with established procedures.

The plenum adopted an address from the CPSU Central Committee to the party and the Soviet people.

It passed a resolution on holding elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU.

After this the plenum completed its work.

Deputies Candidate List Considered

LD1001073789 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent: The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), which is being held in the Kremlin today, is for the first time considering the question of candidates for the posts of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU.

The unusual agenda has been determined by important changes in the Soviet political system. A democratic electoral legislation was adopted last month. It gives public organizations the right which has no analogues in parliamentary practice abroad, namely: directly to elect their representatives to the supreme body of state power. One-third of seats, i.e., 750, out of the total number of 2,250, is intended for them. The largest number of seats will be held by the most influential organizations (100 seats for each of them)—the Communist Party, trade unions, and cooperative associations.

The discussion as to who should be entrusted with representing the party has been held in party organizations everywhere since the end of December 1988. Quite a number of proposals have come in to the Central Committee from the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, from local party bodies, from primary organizations, and from individual party members.

The process of preliminary selection of candidates was really democratic. According to the press, several tens of candidacies were discussed in some regions before the final choice.

Whatever the differences of detail in the selection of candidates, one cannot fail to notice the main thing: Wide support has been given to those party members who proved by deeds their commitment to perestroyka (the current restructuring process). Nominated, along with CPSU leaders, have been workers, farmers, members of intelligentsia, and professional party functionaries.

In accordance with the electoral law, today's plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee will determine a list of candidates from the Communist Party. Put on the list will be those who will poll more than half of votes of Central Committee members.

Then party organizations and all Communists will have an opportunity to express their attitude to any of the candidacies. This will be taken into consideration during the election of people's deputies of the USSR from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The elections are expected to be held in March.

Resolution on Elections

LD1001115789 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee at its plenum on Tuesday passed a resolution on holding elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU. The resolution called for:

1. Convening a CPSU Central Committee plenum on elections of USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 15-16, 1989, in Moscow,

2. Holding a vote to elect USSR people's deputies with the participation of alternate members of the CPSU Central Committee and members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission as well as first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of union republics and regional party committees, second secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of union republics, presidents of the presidiums of the supreme soviets and the councils of ministers of union republics, ministers and heads of central state agencies and organisations and commanders of military districts, who are not serving on the party's central bodies,

3. Instructing the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo to submit the list of those to vote at the Central Committee plenum to the electoral commission on elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU, in keeping with procedures established by law.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets on Elections

LD0901101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference in the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A conference of secretaries of union and autonomous republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms on questions of the preparation and holding of elections for USSR people's deputies was held in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 6 January.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, read a report at the conference.

The election campaign launched in the country is an important link in the practical implementation of the political reform planned by the party, and is taking place at a period of drastic restructuring of all aspects of social relations. Having analyzed in detail the progress of the election campaign which is being conducted everywhere in conformity with the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies," A.I. Lukyanov emphasized that the radical renewal of the electoral system and its genuine democratism create the necessary conditions for developing and maintaining voters' activeness and their initiatives for the sake of forming a new supreme organ of state power which will be new in terms of the contents of its work and its functions. This assigns important tasks to soviets.

The current stage of the election campaign—the nomination of candidate deputies—is a key element in the course of the preparations for the elections. This is why the degree of boldness, openness, and consistency with which democratic procedures are implemented at all stages and the respect which is shown for voters' opinions will determine the extent to which it will be guaranteed that really worthy representatives of the working people will get to the supreme organ of power. The entire democratic potential contained in the Law on Elections is aimed at this.

The elections for USSR people's deputies will be organized by electoral commissions comprising representatives of labor collectives, public organizations, voters' meetings at places of residence, and servicemen's meetings in military units. Under the law, the soviets of people's deputies are called upon to play a new and important role in this campaign. They must give the utmost assistance to the commissions in organizing election campaign events, ensure the exercise of citizens' right to participate in the elections, and create the conditions for the free nomination of the best representatives of all social strata of the population, of all nations and ethnic groups in our country, as candidates for USSR people's deputy.

Major importance will attach to the organization of okrug election campaign meetings of voters and the delivery of speeches by candidates outlining their programs. It is necessary to ensure equal opportunities in this respect for all candidates and to guarantee the exercise of their rights as laid down by the law. When solving questions of this kind, soviets must closely collaborate with party, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations.

Following the registration of candidate people's deputies, soviets and the okrug electoral commissions and public organizations will share the responsibility for organizing voters' meetings to meet with candidate deputies and for formulating voters' mandates reflecting the population's interests and requirements.

Conference participants from the RSFSR, the Ukrainian, Uzbek, and Armenian SSR's, Karelia, and several oblasts shared the experience of their work and described difficulties arising in the course of the election campaign—instances of breaches of the time limits for scheduled events as laid down by the law, the appearance in some places of of "quotas" in the nomination of candidates, and insufficient activeness by electoral commissions. Some soviets fail to give prompt and specific assistance to commissions. Speakers pointed out the need to step up the work of republic and local soviets at future stages of the preparation and holding of elections, to ensure strict observance of the requirements of the Law on Elections, and to guarantee real exercise of Soviet citizens' rights.

A paramount position in the package of soviets' tasks must be occupied by the satisfaction of people's urgent interests and needs and the swiftest possible solution of pressing social issues raised by the population. Food supplies, abundant goods and various services in the market, a broader scale and faster pace of housing construction, and a decisive improvement of the ecological situation—soviets must constantly focus their attention on all this.

T. Akmatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies; and Yu.I. Ryzhkov, secretary of this commission took part in the conference's work.

Electoral Commission's 'Heated' Debate on Quotas

PM1001103189 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, 6-12 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 5 Jan 89) p 2

[Report by Z. Golubev: "Today in the Central Electoral Commission"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] "The Central Electoral Commission was formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet," Chairman V.P. Orlov says. "This enhances the commission's prestige, determines its great responsibility in monitoring the implementation of the Law on Elections and ensuring the interests of all strata of society during the preparations for and holding of elections."

Let us note that the commission will operate permanently for 5 years. Its duties include monitoring implementation of the Law on Elections throughout the country, ensuring its uniform application, directing the activity of all electoral commissions, and resolving questions connected with repeat elections, with the recall of USSR people's deputies, with the scheduling and holding of elections of people's deputies to fill seats that have become vacant, and also with performing many other new and former duties.

At one session the commission examined the question of norms for the representation of each public organization taking part in the elections. The quotas were determined earlier at meetings of representatives of public organizations at the Central Electoral Commission during which there were heated debates. The desire of each public formation to have "its own" deputy in the supreme organ of power is understandable. But the law is the law.

This question also arose at the last session. The vice president of the "Rossiya" Association of Cooperatives, for example, remained dissatisfied. The commission members had deemed the association's request that it be given a norm for representation in elections of USSR people's deputies to be unlawful since, according to the findings of the USSR Ministry of Justice, in its status and structure this association is not an all-union public organization with an all-union organ. The Interregional Cooperative Federation and the Coordination and Methodological Council of the Movement of Nature Conservation Squads were also refused the right to put forward their own candidates for deputy.

The Central Electoral Commission accepted the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's proposal to change the dates for holding individual election measures in the electoral okrugs whose territory suffered during the earthquake.

The commission session heard reports from the leaders of the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of the Timber Industry, and the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade on measures to provide the election campaign with stable telephone and radio communications, paper for preparing forms for election documents, and legal literature and texts of the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections.

A number of other questions connected with preparations for the elections were examined, and the layout of election documents was approved.

Yeltsin on 'Concealed' Resistance to Restructuring

AU0901200289 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German1800 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Report on interview with USSR Deputy Construction Minister Boris Yeltsin by Joachim Holtz in Moscow; date not given—recorded; Yeltsin statements in Russian fading into German translation]

[Text] Former Moscow party leader Yeltsin wants to become more politically active. He said in a ZDF interview that he will run in the upcoming elections to the People's Congress. If he were elected, he would renounce his post as deputy construction minister. He expressed criticism of the—as he called it—wrong tactics of restructuring. Our Moscow correspondent Joachim Holtz interviewed Boris Yeltsin:

[Begin recording] [Holtz] Boris Nikolayevich, the Soviet Union is successfully flying into space, its armaments are enormous. However, in everyday life people are looking at empty shelves, and in many cities foodstuff is received based on coupons. There is a housing shortage. Why is restructuring not making progress?

[Yeltsin] It is not making progress because many things are missing at the counters, because services are so bad, because there is still a shortage of consumer goods. The way in which man makes repayments corresponds to the way in which he is supplied. He has not gotten what has been promised to him. Therefore, he has not provided what is needed for restructuring.

[Holtz] Is there still resistance to restructuring in the upper echelons of the leadership? [end recording]

Well, Yeltsin said, carefully weighing his words, there is no organized resistance. However, a concealed, a delaying resistance cannot be denied.

Boris Yeltsin's reputation with the Soviet population seems to be far greater than his position in the leadership. The sturdy man from the Urals was among high-level leaders in the Kremlin 3 years ago—as a deputy, a Supreme Soviet Presidium member, the Moscow party leader, and a Politburo candidate member. He was regarded as Gorbachev's first fighter for restructuring. In autumn 1987, he was abruptly dismissed from his high offices by Gorbachev. Now, as deputy construction minister, he occupies a position at the political periphery.

Yeltsin on Personality Cults

LD0901193889 Hamburg DPA in German 1808 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Boris Yeltsin, first deputy minister of the USSR State Construction Committee, warned today against a concentration of power at the head of the USSR. "Our country has already been punished several times for having too much power concentrated in the hands of one political leader," Yelstin said today in an interview with the Second German Television (ZDF) in Moscow. Failures such as the personality cult have been the result. "Nowadays many people hope already that General Secretary Gorbachev can resist such a temptation," Yeltsin stated further.

Yeltsin will possibly be a candidate on 26 March for a seat in the Congress of People's Deputies. "Several work collectives have already proposed me but a decision is still to be made," he said in the interview. According to the constitutional reform of last year, the Congress of People's Deputies will become the highest state authority with 2,250 members. At the election in March there will be for the first time throughout the USSR more candidates nominated than there are seats.

Yelstin, who is 58 years old, is regarded as a staunch representative of radical reforms in the USSR and up until his removal in fall 1987 for 2 years was the Moscow city party chief. He is not content with his new position in the Construction Ministry. "I would like to work with and for people; here I am only working with paper," he said.

Broader Access to Russian Empire Archives

LD0901174189 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The Central State Archive of the October Revolution (CSA) in Moscow has removed the restrictions on access to over 500,000 files. This is in line with the processes of democratisation and openness at work in the country.

"To broaden the information base for social sciences", Boris Kaptelov, CSA director, told TASS correspondent Natalya Kupriy, a provision has been elaborated concerning the procedure for receiving and using the documents of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR and its republican organisations, the procurator's office and the supreme court of the USSR, the State Committee for Book Publishing, Printing and Sales and the Ministry of Health of the USSR. Specialists may now receive documents on organisations of the Russian empire of the 19-20th centuries: the secret police, judicial supervision, jails, and funds of counter-revolutionary and white emigre organisations. Restrictions have also been removed on documents of the White Guard and the White Emigres. Large amounts of documents on pre-revolutionary history have now been opened for restricted access as is also the case with those of the Russian Orthodox Church. The files of the liquidated establishments and organisations of the 1920s-1930s are being declassified." [quotation mark as received]

As Boris Kaptelov said, the time has come to review the forms of archives' participation in publication and investigation activities pursued by research establishments. The new approaches may be exemplified by the joint work of research and archive institutions of the country in preparing an all-union "chronicle of the worker movement in Russia" (1885 -February 1917).

Leningrad's Solovyev Offers Aid to Leninakan

PM0601165389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Help From Leningraders"]

[Text] Leninakan (Armenian SSR), 4 Jan—The emissaries of the city on the Neva are going to build a large new residential district in earthquake-devastated Leninakan. They are going to build 160,000 square meters of housing here. Preference will be given to three- and four-story earthquake-resistant buildings made of reinforced concrete slabs. The residential district will also include three secondary schools, three kindergartens, a trade center, and a hospital complex. The future construction site has been viewed by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, who arrived in Leninakan today. He was accompanied by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Tours City, Discusses Rebuilding

PM0901115589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Rapid and High-Quality Construction"]

[Text] Leninakan, 5 Jan—Construction workers from Leningrad have pledged to erect a large area of housing in Leninakan.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Party Obkom, was in Leninakan 4-5 January in order to elaborate a concrete action program for implementing the plans.

During a meeting with a detachment of Leningrad rescue workers, he talked about the tasks that the emissaries from the city on the Neva are to fulfill here. In the next 2 years the Leningraders will build in Leninakan approximately 3,000 well-equipped apartments in a complex provided with all sociocultural amenities.

The housing blocks will be constructed on the basis of Leningraders' designs but with consideration for Armenian architectural traditions and also for the region's seismic features. There are plans to organize direct road,

air, and railroad shipments between Leningrad and Leninakan in order to rapidly deliver various construction materials and equipment there.

Yu.F. Solovyev took part in the work of a meeting of the operations staff to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and discussed the problems of rebuilding the first phase of the destroyed city. Then documents were coordinated with Leninakan Gorispolkom representatives on choosing sites where the Leningraders would engage in construction work and sectors for creating a construction industry base and a housing site for the construction workers.

During his trip around Leninakan the candidate member of the CSPU Central Committee Politburo met with inhabitants of the city and inquired about their living and domestic conditions and the problems of employment. He urged the people of Leninakan, primarily the men, to take an active part in restoring their native city side by side with the Leningrad construction workers.

Yu.F. Solovyev was accompanied by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

More Solovyev on Leningrad Aid

LD0901214589 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Leningrad January 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Davydov:

"No matter how much they write about or show in newsreels the tragedy of Armenia, what one sees for himself is a shocking sight: I again felt the terrible sensation of the proximity of war which I experienced when as a young soldier I took part in liberating Soviet cities from Hitlerites and saw the ruins of Vitebsk and Smolensk." This is how Yuriy Solovyev, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and first secretary of the Leningrad Regional CPSU Committee, described today during a conversation with newsmen the earthquake which ravaged parts of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic on December 7 of last year. He has just come back from Armenia where a delegation of Leningrad leaders and specialists familiarized themselves with the state of affairs there and specified a programme of reconstruction.

[Words indistinct] Soviet Government decision, all large Soviet building organisations have been allotted their area of work in the destroyed Armenian towns—Spitak, Leninakan, Kirovakan and Stepanavan. The Leningraders, for instance, have been entrusted with restoration of a district of Leninakan almost completely destroyed by the December earthquake. In two years they must build homes with about 3,000 apartments, schools for almost 2,000 pupils, a hospital, a clinic and a kindergarten. The Leningraders are now ready to dispatch to Leninakan a housing settlement on wheels for 750 builders. Construction machines and mechanisms are also being sent there.

"We intend to involve in the restoration work in the fraternal republic practically all of Leningrad's labour collectives, Yuriy Solovyev said. The ship-builders of the largest shipyards, for instance, will manufacture the necessary building structurs. Additional assignments had been given to engineering enterprises and designing organisations." The party leader of Leningrad said he saw a possibility for providing Armenia with viable assistance without serious damage for implementing the social programmes for Leningrad—the USSR's second largest industrial centre with a population of 5 million. Even in the most intensive periods, not more than 2.5 thousand Leningraders will be working in Leninakan. "We are staking on the high sense of responsibiity of the Soviet people, their feeling of solidarity and their passionate desire to help the victims," Yuriy Solovyev said.

Leninakan Residents Polled on Rebuilding Efforts

LD1001095489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] More than a month has passed since the earthquake in Armenia. Our correspondent Kolun Khumaryan describes the situation in the disaster zone.

[Khumaryan] At the moment I have in front of me information on the results of a sociological poll conducted among the residents of devastated Leninakan. The poll was prepared by the staff of the republican center of ecological [word indistinct] research for the purpose of defining the attitude of Leninakan residents about their town's future.

As was to be expected the poll shows their great attachment both to Leninakan itself as well as to its culture, original architecture, and the relations that have taken shape here among people. Ninety-three percent of those asked think that Leninakan should be restored on its former site without any doubt whatsoever and should be the same as or at least similar to the original town. Thirty-seven percent of the people want to live either in a single story house or on the ground floor of a multistory building; 27 percent agree to live on the first floor, and only slightly more than 10 percent of the people want to live on the third floor. No one wants to live above the third floor.

The town residents' opinion on this coincides completely with that of the town builders, who in drawing up a master plan for the development of the stricken towns, concluded that buildings more than four stories high must not be erected here. Architects will use the results of the poll in drawing up the detailed plans for Leninakan. The construction of the first houses has already started here. Unfortunately for the moment the building has to be done outside the town limits because the work of clearing the towns and other populated points of building rubble left by the earthquake is proceeding slowly. People are working around the clock as hard as they can.

The devastation is so immense that if a clever solution is not found in the immediate future, the clearing of the towns could drag on for many months. Starting the construction work along a broad front is also impeded by the fact that so far the finance ministry has not been able

to establish the extent of the damage suffered by each victim and to pay the corresponding compensation. This has repeatedly been mentioned at the relevant meeting of the Politburo commission. After the commission's last session I met with Dzhanik Artashesovich Dzhanoyan, the republic's finance minister of finance:

[Begin recording] [Dzhanoyan] Here in Armenia more than 250 commissions have been organized at housing association organizations and rural soviets. Lists were compiled in the first week. More than 650,000 people were on these lists, and on 24 December, in practice, we began to pay out. By today, financial assistance to the population and compensation for property has already been rendered to the tune of approximately 115 million rubles. All in all, it will amount to 1.7 billion rubles.

[Khumaryan] To be honest, I do not feel so optimistic, because at the reporters' office of All-Union Radio, we keep getting phone calls from our people who are dissatisfied, mainly from Yerevan. They describe the difficulties that they have to overcome in order to receive this compensation.

[Dzhanoyan] Those comrades who return to us receive the aid provided by the Central All-Union Trade Union Council. In fact there has been a muddle. According to our program, on 20 January this assistance will have been rendered for the most part. It is difficult to say when it will be completed, because very many conflicts arise, which will gradually be resolved. [end recording]

Forecast Warning of Earthquake Danger Ignored

PM0901114589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Professor G.A. Sobolev, head of department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Earth Physics Institute, by own correspondent G. Lomanov: "Listen to the Echo of 'Subterranean Storms'"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] After every devastating earthquake the question of whether the catastrophe could have been predicted is particularly pertinent. Our correspondent put this question to Professor Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Sobolev, head of department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Earth Physics Institute. [passage omitted]

[Lomanov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, was there a long-term forecast for the region where catastrophe struck 7 December?

[Sobolev] Our institute drew up a map of expected earthquakes as far back as 1985. The danger areas included the one where the tragedy occurred. In line with the procedure laid down by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, the forecasts are sent to the leaders of regional seismology institutes. The map in question was sent by the Interdepartmental Council for Seismology and Earthquake-Resistant Construction in 1986 to all the Transcaucasian republics, including to the Leninakan Institute of Geophysics and Seismological Engineering.

[Lomanov] And then?

[Sobolev] Then it is up to the director to decide what course of action to take. As far as I am aware, seismic services in Armenia informed leading organizations of the earthquake prediction map, but no measures were taken.

[Lomanov] This is more than strange—it seems that the fate of people in an entire region hangs on whether or not the chief of a seismic service deems it necessary to inform the authorities of the possible danger and whether the local organs choose to do anything about it or not.

[Sobolev] It is my deep belief that we need a legislative act clearly defining what must be done when a long-term forecast is published and regulating the channels whereby this information should be sent to which quarter and who should take what measures. This legislation must be drafted without delay—after all, other regions, not only in the North Caucasus, are colored red for danger on the long-term forecast maps drawn up by seismologists. I must remind you that almost 30 percent of our country's territory is in earthquake danger zones. If everything stays as before, it means that the lesson of the Armenian earthquake will have taught us nothing. [passage omitted]

Report of Soldier's Death in Spitak Corrected

PM0901115789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA "Correction"]

[Text] In the article entitled "With Pain and Faith" (PRAVDA 2 January 1989) it was reported, among other things, that a serviceman from an airborne assault unit who had been rescuing children was killed in Spitak by a criminal. A check has established that the author relied on incompetent sources of information. The editorial office expresses profound apologies to its readers. The author of the report has been severely punished.

Soldiers Injured in Kirovabad Violence Quoted

PM1001095989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 First Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar: "'We Did Our Duty as Soldiers,' Say Servicemen Injured During Unrest in Kirovabad"]

[Text] There are two of them in the district hospital: Private 1st class Gennadiy Targan and Private Viktor Patsko. They are both members of an assault force, from the same division. They were side by side during those dramatic moments.

"It is awful, of course, that we have been hospitalized for so long," Gennadiy said in distress. "The other members of our regiment have so much to do!"

...That day the company had been put on a state of alert. Captain V. Mamin explained: We were going to the city center, as internal troop subunits needed our assistance. Their combat vehicle was the last in the line. The engineer who was driving braked at a bend in the road. This moment was seized on by extremists, who pushed a metal pipe between the runners. The caterpillar track flew off.

Stones were hurled at the soldiers. Someone splashed gasoline onto the armor plating and threw a match.... The members of the assault force tried to beat down the flames.

Someone managed to stab Private 1st class E. Pushkel three times without being noticed. Private 1st class Gennadiy Targan and Private Viktor Patsko suffered hand burns....

"I do not blame the Azerbaijani people for what happened," Gennadiy mused aloud. "They are good, hardworking people. When we were sent to the hospital for treatment, dozens of Azerbaijanis visited us in the ward, bringing fruit and vegetables. They sharply condemn the actions of extremists. They say: Someone is profiting from sowing enmity between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians. It is mainly those who are sickened by order and who have managed to get rich by unjust means."

"If the situation were to be repeated," Private Patsko and Private 1st class Targan felt it necessary to emphasize in our conversation, "we would once again see our duty as servicemen through to the end. The most precious reward for this would be peace in the land of Azerbaijan and Armenia."

The doctor on duty, Lieutenant Colonel A. Askerov of the Medical Service, assured me that the assault troopers would soon be going back to their formation.

Paper Details Disaster, Devisiveness in Armenia

PM0901165389 Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Jan 89 pp 3, 4

[Report for TRUD by TASS special correspondents V. Kevorkov and V. Ponomarev: "On the Brink of the Abyss"]

[Text]

Spitak-Yerevan-Moscow—Two Tragedies—Two Elements

"Mommy!" The voice issued from a cleft in the ruins. "Let me out! I have always obeyed you..."

"Go to sleep son, go to sleep, darling..."

What else could a demented mother say, as she kneeled among the ruins of her former home. Her beloved only child lay beneath an immovable slab of concrete, in a miraculously preserved cavity...

"Tell him," the distraught mother whispered, "to go to sleep. He'll go crazy otherwise..."

"Mommy! Mom..."

It is still heart-breaking to write about the child's desperate cry, the mother's prayers, and our impotence to render assistance. There were no cranes yet, and the terrible first night after the tragedy was approaching in Spitak. The equipment would arrive later. In the meantime, neighbors from Ashtarak, Aparan, and Aragats had arrived, ahead of everyone else. They had dashed in from the nearest rayons in their own cars to take out the dead and injured.

The stream of vehicles was endless. From Yerevan and Charentsavan now. We accompanied them to the outskirts. We asked the driver:

"Do you have relatives there?"

The young driver frowned:

"I have people there..."

A series of horrific and heroic pictures came to mind when, some days later, we had a conversation in Ashtarak with Eduard Vartanyan, deputy scientific director at the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Physical Research, and his colleague, Igor Zakharyan, director of the institute's "Kristall" experimental plant. We talked about the people's courage, about the first shock and the confusion, about the gradual—where was the experience to draw on?—establishment of order and the world's response to the disaster. And about the French rescue team with the foreign technology that amazed everyone....

"We take our hats off to them all," Zakharyan breathed a sigh. "But do you recall the Donetsk miners? They are professionals indeed...."

Taciturn, laconic, using simple equipment, they went into the ruins as they would into a mine.

They seemed to be able to see through the debris and went confidently to places where there were still people. The earth obediently opened before them as if it knew who it was dealing with.... They scarcely had time to receive the survivors on the surface. All one could hear was: "Timber!.. Dig!.. Timber!.."

Toward morning, by the fire, volunteer rescuers from Ashtarak took a short break with guys from the Ukraine, grimly chewing bread next to the still bodies, draped in sheets....

The great disaster and the common grief pushed into the background eveything that even the day before the tragedy was causing such anxiety among our Armenian friends and overshadowed the "Karabakh issue," which for 10 agonizing months of 1988 had shaped their view of the entire world and the people populating it. As it turned out, the tragedy was able to destroy homes and take away thousand of lives, but it did not destroy, it did not discard as unwanted the numerous "programs,"

leaflets, printed appeals, and unprintable threats circulating in Yerevan long before the disaster. They are the products of the "Karabakh committee," its leaders, and activists, with their impatient demands and categorical ultimatums. They are still going the rounds, being duplicated and reproduced. But it seemed to us at first inappropriate to start scratching away at the recent past again.

"But why?" Zakharyan objected. "The problem remains, and I, as an Armenian, am in favor of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) being handed over to us. But I am not in favor of the unconstitutional methods that are being proposed as a means of solving it."

"But an employee of your institute, Rafael Kazaryan, is a member of the 'Karabakh committee'."

"So?" Vartanyan said. "Rafael Avetisovich Kazaryan, corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, is indeed in charge of the quantum electronics laboratory. But that does not mean I have to accept the 'Karabakh committee's' program and justify its activity. One method of tackling the problem proposed by the 'Karabakh committee' was strikes. The institute's learned council, the academy presidium, and we ourselves have always been opposed to this. What they propose will not solve the problem for good; it will leave an eternal hotbed of enmity and strife."

"The NKAO problem is complex and just ways of tackling it must be sought," Zakharyan added.

"Any program must contain not only the wish, but also the ways to solve it," Vartanyan wound up the debate. "Otherwise it is mere wishful thinking."

"And do you know the solution to the question?"

Vartanyan smiled, and Zakharyan replied:

"If I knew I would have been the top man in Armenia long ago."

But we parted with the intention of not dramatizing the situation.

How often during the year has one heard this from highly authoritative people in Armenia: "No generalization," "No accentuation," "No exacerbation." And there was suprising agreement among groups of passers-by and in officials' offices. The press, which had recognized the danger of extremism fueling interethnic emotions, was accused of insulting nations. Any charges of persecution on national grounds and of provoking interethnic clashes were expunged from articles on the same pretext. On more than one occasion angry people in Yerevan told us that the mention of extremists, let alone looters, in the disaster zone allegedly compromised the entire people. Our colleagues in Baku and Kirovabad faced the same reproaches. I remember a meeting in Charentsavan with a small number of managers and leading specialists of a large plant. They started talking about tragic incidents in mixed villages in Armenia. "It cannot be," people were saying in amazement. "It is not us, it is them. Our people would not be able to do that." No one was willing to admit that it was and is so.

We are in love with the Armenian people, in love with Armenia, its proud and patient sons and daughters, clever, intelligent, and enterprising people. People who remember their history, people fated to undergo an unprecedently tragic ordeal, which they met courageously, with dignity and the utmost humanity and self-sacrifice. But to ignore what exists, not to tell the honest truth about what is happening—is that a relationship among friends?

Or did they not exist, those who forgot about honor and conscience and committed sacrilege among the ruins of Leninakan for dubious instant material gain? Did they not exist, those who, having been appointed to distribute the aid coming into Armenia, were getting their dirty hands on foreign blankets, food, and drugs?

The truth is that it was more the other way: People serving sentences for robbery and petty theft were released from the corrective labor colony for the rescue period on their word of honor to look for relatives. It is paradoxical, but it was thieves from the colony who were among the first to bring to the police valuables they had found among the ruins. On the scale of public-spiritedness they were higher than many who remained at liberty.

We saw with our own eyes in Yerevan a guy all but beaten to death for trying to sell Ukrainian pastries which had been sent for child victims, and we saw people spit in the face of another guy who had stolen an imported jacket. You only had to see the contempt compatriots felt for the riffraff. But on 22 December a worker who was an active member of a "Karabakh subcommittee," regular speaker at rallies, and organizer of strikes was expelled from the "Nayrit" science and production association. He was expelled for stealing a sewing machine motor during rescue work in Spitak. "Go!" they told him. "There is no justification for what you have done!"

There it is, the true face of the people who know and remember what dignity and honor are. So how could this noble people, who have on their side today the sympathy and feelings of all Soviet people and the whole world, gradually but surely sink into a deep political crisis?

Two disasters befell the Armenians that leap year. The second was a natural disaster. The first was man-made. And it had lasted 10 months, until the second, terrible disaster.

Life goes on: The dead are buried, people honor their memory, preserving in their hearts eternal sorrow. The sick and injured are made well. Really sound and beautiful cities take the place of the ruins. But is the people's soul, which suffered equally severe scars that year, healed?..

An old taxi driver, Ashot, drove us to Theater Square in Yerevan, where there have been massive rallies nonstop for 10 months. The headquarters of the special district military commandant is there now. The commandant, General N. Fedoseyev, is a very busy man. There is a constant stream of officers going in and out, bringing reports on incidents.

"A group of youths just off the square," a major reported.

"Firearms?"

"Not seen any yet. Steel bars, sharpened sticks."

"Persuade them to disperse. And detain those with the sticks until the morning and tell their parents," the commandant ordered and then addressed us. "Young people? Always quick to act. You can understand it—hot blood..."

On the subject of blood.... While the commandant was issuing orders to senior officers assembled for the evening detail, we looked at the report summarizing recent events.

...An Armenian driver and two Azerbaijani women he was trying to take out of Kalinino on his tractor were beaten up. An Armenian and an Azerbaijani family—husband, wife, and four children—were beaten up in a mountain pass and the car was burned. The victims were picked up by tourists from the Baltic area and taken to Kalinino, where they were beaten up again.

...Professor N. Manaseryan of the Yerevan National Economy Institute advocated a student strike at a meeting of the collective.

...In Theater Square Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences D. Shakhnazaryan called for the creation of national troop formations.

...Simonyan, dean of the Armenian Pedagogical Institute named for Kh. Abovyan, urged students to set up five-person "national committees" for an "organized boycott of classes."

...Some 500 inhabitants of the village of Metsmarz in Vardenisskiy Rayon complained that the rural soviet chairman and rayon prosecutor were trying to cause strife between Azerbaijani and Armenian inhabitants....

What is this? Reality or a paranoid dream, in which the actors are all doing the opposite to what is expected of them in life: A prosecutor's office staffer trying to turn people against one another, a police officer calmly standing by as a car is set on fire, a professor trying to persuade students not to attend classes, a doctor of physico-mathematical precise sciences trying to demonstrate to students the need to set up national troop formations!

We look at the general and his ribbon bar holder and can imagine that in only a few years the young men he locked up that night will have grown up and will be thanking this stern-faced man. For preventing them, not, perhaps, in the most elegant manner, from ruining their lives and from using their sharpened sticks against youths of a different nationality or against a soldier.

One was also ashamed of those whose work the general was doing. Of the professor and the doctor of sciences who were inciting young people to such shameful acts, and of the parents who did not take their children promptly in hand.

"We will do our duty," the commandant said. "But the curfew is not everlasting and we must obtain satisfaction right now not only from the roughnecks, but also, and most important, perhaps, from those who are deliberately inciting them!"

"Do you want to see one of those who is inciting young people to do this?" the general said, guessing what we were thinking. "A 'Karabakh' extremist, Vano Siradegyan, has just been arrested for violating the special situation."

In a large room, like a concert hall with a carpet spread on the wall and a grand piano, we sat down at a polished table with a lean man of about 40.

"Are you the leader of the 'Karabakh committee'?"

"Yes," the interlocutor lowered his eyes bashfully, like a woman receiving a compliment. "Mind you, we, the leaders of 'Karabakh,' do not give interviews to the press...."

"Why is that?"

"The press, despite glasnost, either ignores our true intentions and our ultimate goal or presents them in a distorted form."

"We promise to print word for word and our arbiter will be the tape recording."

"No, no! Switch off the recorder, or I won't...."

Despite the strange concept of glasnost, we took away the conversation "witness" and immediately realized that we were missing nothing. There followed items from the familiar catalog: Karabakh must be handed over to Armenia; the creation of a national army....

It occurs to us that it was no accident that the doctor of sciences brandished at the rally the bugbear of a national army; the seeds had already developed and borne fruit....

"But that is civil war!"

There was a long silence.

"Well," Suradegyan eventually managed to say, almost in a whisper, "excuse me, but it is hard for me to talk with you...."

We believed him. We had seen him in the square, hurling inflammatory slogans at a seething mob. He was shouting at the top of his voice, pushing other people away from the microphone. There was no need for logic; all that was needed was vocal cords.

"What is your profession, then?" we inquired on leaving.

"We are all intellectuals on the 'Karabakh committee.' I, for example, am a children's writer...."

Again we were looking in a distorting mirror. A mentor, molding fragile children's souls, who had no qualms about playing not at tin soliders but at actual civil war. Prepared to risk the lives of many compatriots and use self-glorification on the field of adventurism to compensate for being a literary nobody.

Echo of a Manmade Disaster

We looked at a photograph of a girl running; it had been taken by chance by a Soviet soldier almost on the border with Turkey. Her eyes registered the same horror as that in the voice of the little boy pleading to his mother to release him from the trap of the debris in Spitak. That boy was saved by the Donetsk miners. But who would save the girl running with her family through the dangerous pass away from the hatred of once nice village neighbors? Who would expel from the memory of the little man helping his sister through the snowbound mountains that terrible night his family walked through cold and darkness, having left behind everything they had worked so hard for in order to save themselves from the blind savagery? You don't have to wonder whether these children are Armenians or Azerbaijanis. That is not the point. They are all our children....

You do not build bonfires on a powder-keg. And it would be naive now to accuse the leaders of the "Karabakh committee" and the exremists from Azerbaijan of ignorance. They knew what they were doing and saying; they deliberately struck the matches and then tried not to notice when others' homes were bursting into flames in the two republics' mixed villages. Whether they like it or not, it was their rally speeches that incited people to terrorism.

Remember that L. Ter-Petrosyan was the first at the mass rally in Yerevan to put forward the idea that the people should arm themselves. It was his idea to set up the "self-defense detachments" which turned into gangs of bandits on highways and in villages. I. Muradyan urged people to assemble in the square with sticks and iron bars. It was his leaflet that called for action, not words. They responded to his appeal with fire and blood. V. Manukyan called for infidels to be driven out, and hundreds of frightened people with children and old folk fled across the snowbound passes into the forests and mountains. "We will make you shoot the people!" A. Manucharyan hollered on the streets of Yerevan, and rocks and metal spikes were thrown at a soldier. Some 500 people who had gotten worked up at a rally in Kirovakan committed outrages on highways and made a bandit raid on the village of Shaumyan, Gugarkskiy Rayon. The local people in Araratskiy Rayon discovered some explosives on the railroad and handed them over to the authorities, but a "self-defense detachment" hunted down the witnesses to the crime. The powerline poles had been sawn into and prepared for blasting and the explosive had been stolen. Someone had been trying to shut down the central heating and power plant supplying Echmiadzin....

The bodies of grenades manufactured at an industrial enterprise in the republic lay on a table alongside charges and fuses stolen from other enterprises. The grenades, fortunately, did not explode: Armenian security offciers managed to detect the crime in time. Each of them had 72 serrations, 72 fragments to kill or maim. Soon the Armenian people will know the names of those who took up weapons, who brought with them destruction and death. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in each case of violence and investigations are being made.

Of course, the actual leaders of the "Karabakh committee," its "11 apostles," did not fire at buses or hurl rocks and steel spikes at soldiers, they did not wreck cars; they merely kindled hatred. But for how long are only those who fired, wrecked, and burned going to experience retribution? Is our imperfect law again going to allow those who directed, incited, and inspired to escape responsibility?

The picture of those horrific days and nights is a mosaic of tragic episodes. The newspapers wrote about the group of maniacs who seized a busload of children in Ordzhonikidze, taking them hostage, and wanted to fly out of the country; about the courage and great professionalism of the Soviet security officers who saved the kids from the bandits' violence. At the same time, here, on the road between Sisian and Baku, the passengers of another bus seized by "Karabakh committee" activists in Goris were awaiting their fate. "Subcommittee" people demanded that a convoy of trucks carrying construction materials be let into Stepanakert, otherwise—and they were being serious!—they would burn the bus along with the hostages. Again the law was silent, its makers no doubt believing that "such a thing" could never happen here because it could never happen....

But it did! The investigation has yet to discover who was behind the group of young "Karabakh committee" sympathizers who organized the attack on a military patrol to get its weapons.

The bandits' equipment included a sharpened metal trident with a long, sturdy shaft. Whose back was this harpoon, cast in the night, going to pierce, enabling the latterday "patriots" to reel in their victim? Did any of them think that that soldier could be a Ukrainian whose father, a Donetsk miner, was that very night toiling away underground, driving forward to save as many Armenian children as possible from the ruins?

It was absurd hearing acquaintances, perfectly intelligent people, putting these outbreaks of violence down to the "Sumgait carnage" and calmly estimating how many corpses there were there and how many here, as if making a casualty "equation" was a matter of national prestige and honor. Terrible logic. But they were openly declared at rallies and in leaflets, and these were ultimatums as well. Here is one: Unless the "Karabakh committee" leaders arrested for breaching the curfew are

released "avengers'" shots will be heard in Yerevan. Shots at anyone who does not support the demands for their release. Now, after all we have seen with our own eyes, we sadly acknowledge that this is not a joke, not a crazy game. It is the logical consequence of the nationalist hatred which had gradually been taking shape with impunity for nearly a year and had been fueled by the emotional and passionate speeches of the orators from "Karabakh," by the pseudohistorical "studies" of scholars and writers on "Moscow's colonial policy," who were unable to foresee the fruits of the "superpatriotism" they were propagandizing.

We often asked many representatives of the Armenian intelligentsia why, having formulated the ideas of a national movement, they had farmed them out to extremists inciting the people to terror and to civil war? Why, at some stage, did the head cease to control what the hands were doing? Why were the "Karabakh" leaders allowed to call for revenge, for order to be violated and the law flouted? Why did everyone suddenly remember and start talking vigorously about Muslim-Christian and Azerbaijani-Armenian contradictions, whereas few remembered that they were both citizens of the USSR? Why, during the orgy of rallies and strikes that lasted nearly a year, did no one block the "committee" people's path and passionately, loudly urge them to stop and think again? They took a contemptuous view of what was going on beneath the windows of their magnificent residences. Others, in their conspiratorial conversations, harbored grudges against the "upstarts" and "plebeians" who had snatched the microphones from them. Yet others sniggered and rubbed their hands, amusing themselves by asking snide questions in newspaper interviews and television programs. But how many were there who sensed the situation and ran ahead of the locomotive so that it would be noticed and people would start talking about it. Certain people, while officially dissociating themselves from the "Karabakh committee" and fawning on the leadership, were secretly prompting and consulting the "committee" people. Hurtful words? Certainly. But they are honest, public!

They tried to explain to us that the "ingrained ethnic issue" was to blame for everything. All this time we have been trying to understand, but what is it, this "ingrained ethnic issue"? Are we not trying to give too vague an explanation of what has tied the two republics in such a tight knot? And do we seek the answer there anyway?

The Scarce Nephew

The city cafe had a spartan atmoshere: Stone walls, a stone floor, a bar in semidarkness from behind which tasty coffee and tiny carafes of brandy were dispensed. It was cool, almost as cool as on the street, and people were sitting in overcoats, but soon you began to feel at home among those who were assembled there. They were mainly young people: Engineers, employees of institutions, journalists and musicians, artists and VUZ teachers. More and more people came and sat down at the table and joined in the conversation. "We are the Karabakh shadow cabinet," someone joked, introducing his comrades. But it turned out that some of them actually did have something to do with the movement before the "Karabakh committee" emerged in its present form. But they knew past members too, their programs, slogans, and positions. They asked us not to lump everyone together, to realize that in the "committee" itself there are all manner of people—from scoundrels and demagogues to genuine patriots who would like to but are unable to restrain the wildest ranters and ravers.

It is easier and more interesting to talk with young people. They are more direct in their questions and in their answers.

"Do the people in Moscow know the truth about what is happening here?"

"I think so, but certainly they are trying their hardest to understand it."

"Listen, then.... Here and in Baku the processes began under the former leadership. The people came out onto the streets bearing the slogans 'Restructuring, the party, Gorbachev!' They were expecting changes. And what happens? At a republic writers' forum a well-known toady whispered loudly to the former first secretary: 'Karen Seropovich, you completed the restructuring long ago in our republic.' And the latter, leaning over toward his neighbor, although ensuring that he could be heard in the front rows, said: 'We did very well anyway without restructuring.' There is the answer to your main question."

"Not the full answer," someone else joined in the conversation. "The year was dominated by the Karabakh movement. Everyone was waiting for arbitration from Moscow. But what can it say if none of the proposed options satisfies both sides?"

"But have you any options? Sensible ones?"

"Yes! It is necessary to discuss the pros and cons. It must be possible to find something. For example, why not make the NKAO a republic? The 'zero option,' so to speak. Like the missiles. Why not?"

"Gorbachev reached agreement with the Americans, yet we cannot agree among ourselves. What nonsense!"

"The most important thing of all," a third intervened, "is to take the emotional element out of the problem and seek a solution in the economic sphere."

"Right, the solution can only be found in the economic sphere. It is necessary to set up joint enterprises, cooperatives," a young journalist chipped in. "Or—why not an open zone? With preferential conditions for foreign capital and with Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Karabakh involved in free competition..."

"Georgia too, and others."

"The Chinese have solved many problems in 10 years. Why don't we try? A friend of mine used to work at a factory and waste all his time attending rallies. Then he joined a cooperative, glazing windows. He was called to another rally, but he did not have the time, he had to work. The period of doing nothing while being paid by the state was over. Isn't this the solution?"

The young are incorrigible optimists. And their optimism is infectious. Particularly when it fits into the general course outlined by the party. There, in the cafe, they were dreaming about the Armenia of the future. They "constructed" Hiltons on the Sevan and brand-new service stations and highways and "created" joint tourism, light industry, electronics, and services enterprises. They "solved" the problems of employment and revival of culture. The young people dreamed. But in all their dreams there was something real, something that our departments, lacking ideas at the moment, ought to look at.

"Stop!" a young engineer suddenly said. "What are we dreaming about? Our corruption will devour all your initiatives, just as parochialism has gobbled up the cooperatives...."

Their faces dropped as they woke from their dreams.

Then emotions impinged on the debate.

"Do people still not realize that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh is primarily a socioeconomic problem compounded by injustice and simmering national relations?"

"Is it not clear that the corruption and people's social vulnerability will constantly give rise to extreme nationalism?!"

"Why, when Gorbachev has been calling for a lease and contract system, for the setting up of cooperatives, has it all been suppressed here?"

"By whom?"

"The former leadership. You want an example? In one rayon, which I visit regularly, the peasants declared a strike: They wanted to remove a rude and incompetent boss. He was underpaying people and harassing women. But, most important of all, he had broken the lease contract. Under the contract each labor component had earned R8,000-10,000. It was unprofitable for the rayon: somebody working for himself does not want to pay tribute to bureaucrats. For 2 weeks the raykom looked into the conflict and put pressure on the collective, but was forced to remove the loutish bribetaker. They returned to work on one condition: That the lease contract be reinstated in the new year. Why do these things happen? Why were the bribetaker and raykom in cahoots? Why do cadres who have discredited themselves continue to move from job to job and why are all the leaders related?"

"We say that if a leading post is vacant it means they haven't found a nephew yet," a young enterprise leader remarked.

We had been told that there was a shortage of cadres in the republic, but we listened to the guys in the cafe and thought: Here they are, the cadres. Unfortunately, they are idle at the moment. And through no fault of their own!

Suddenly they started vying with one another to cite examples of corruption, bribery, and nepotism:

"If you want we will give you dozens of names of people on whom the 'Karabakh committee' has dossiers containing compromising material; they will never get the chance to protest. Is it really impossible to see why many deputies scurried to the meeting in the threater, which was declared a 'session'? They were very reluctant, but there was nothing for it. Which deputies were given party reprimands, tell us that."

"But the purge had begun. We read in your KOMMUNIST about the serious measures in respect of a number of party and soviet leaders, and republican media too. Then we read that our colleagues are also writing honestly about what is happening in Azerbaijan..."

"That is an excellent start! But are they content with that?.."

"Corruption is our biggest problem, here and in Azerbaijan. It is the cause of everything—'Karabakh,' the interethnic enmity, and, if you like, the very high casualty rate in the earthquake."

"I was not far from Gorbachev when he clambered onto a heap of debris in the disaster zone. I could see his eyes. He is no builder, but he knew everything immediately. Houses built by honest people will stand any earthquake, but those built by swindlers disintegrate...."

The conversation continued into the small hours in the cramped workshop of a sculptor. In the middle of the room, on a bench, stood the unfinished white, wooden figure of a beautiful woman with ample breasts and enormous gaping rents in her body. Pround and beautiful, although apparently gnawed away by voracious rodents, the body stood firmly on strong legs.

"Mother Armenia," someone uttered quietly in the atmosphere of quiet.

Meanwhile, the owner of the workshop was putting the finishing touches to a striking and frightening poster: The ruins of Spitak, and above the ruins the fat, rapacious hands of corruption with R100 banknotes stuck to them, not with glue, but with human blood.

We returned to the hotel late—the television was showing its nighttime programs. The shapes of people fleeing in terror. Children and adults crying from the effects of tear gas and because of grief for the dead and sympathy with their dear ones. Cars and hard-won property on fire. A burning home, which for a long time had been a fortress guarding against all ills and protecting the small joys that once made up a larger family happiness.

It was not a hurricane, it was not the earthquake that was giving us such a terrifying reminder of the destructive power of the elements. The camera was showing the product of a manmade disaster that is called terrorism.

It was a foreign television report showing places where for years now people have known no peace, where they have been killing and persecuting one another because of

religious feuds. And there was film from cities where cars filled with explosives were being blown up and people were dying in pools of blood because of interethnic hysteria.

We see scenes from these terrible foreign feuds nearly every day as we sit on soft settees in warm apartments, which seem like fortresses to us. We look at the horrific scenes that are taking place hourly somewhere far, far away....

Karabakh Committee Members Now All Under Arrest

PM0901111589 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 9 Jan 89 p 12

[Xan Smiley report: "Entire Voice of Armenian Nationalism Under Arrest"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Soviet authorities have now arrested the entire Karabakh Committee, the voice of Armenian nationalism, along with another seven leading campaigners.

The move completes the decapitation of the unofficial Armenian leadership and underlines the Kremlin's determination, in the wake of the earthquake, to crush all opposition to the local Communist Party.

The news has yet to be publicly disclosed.

It was passed to The Daily Telegraph from sources close to the 11-man committee which has acquired massive support throughout the troubled southern republic.

On Saturday night, the police swooped on a secret meeting of the four members of the committee who were still at large, together with the next layer of key nationalist campaigners.

Two of those detained were thought to have a certain immunity against arrest because one, Dr. Rafael Gazaryan, 63, the movement's father figure, is a distinguished candidate member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences. Another, Mr Ashot Manucharyan, 34, was controversially elected a deputy of the Armenian Supreme Soviet last autumn.

The arrests are already said to have sparked a new round of discord within the bitterly divided Armenian Communist party, which the Kremlin has accused of losing authority in the republic.

Five Karabakh Committee members arrested last month are due out of prison today, having served a 30-day term of so-called "administrative detention," and it will be a crucial indicator of government intentions whether or not they are rapidly re-arrested.

Migrants Counted as 'Temporary Residents'

NC1001090789 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] In accordance with the 3 January 1989 decision of the collegium of the CPSU Central Committee, migrants who have left their places of permanent residence in Azerbaijan and Armenia will be counted as temporary residents. These people will be sent two census forms, one of which will be sent to their former place of residence, so that they can be counted in the total permanent population of those regions. Similar counting procedures have been specified for people who have left the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan.

Baku Problems Persist After 'Extreme Conditions'

Militiamen Disciplined Over Laxity

PM0901110989 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Azerbaijan SSR MVD"]

[Text] Serious shortcomings have been noted in the work of Baku's internal affairs organs in the extreme conditions, particularly in work to prevent and stop antisocial actions. In the period when unsanctioned rallies and processions were being held certain staffers and leaders of internal affairs organs were irresponsible in their attitude toward performing their official duty, demonstrated indecisiveness and political shortsightedness, and connived with violators of public order, which is causing justified indignation among citizens.

Thus on 3 December this year eight people were taken to the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department for violating the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 23 November 1988 "On Urgent Measures To Impose Public Order in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR" but were not only not brought to account but were illegally released by Ye. Silyayev, chief of the Internal Affairs Department, and R. Isayev, criminal investigation officer.

On the same day the leadership of the Leninskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, in accordance with the above-mentioned decree, was ordered to take measures against Gadzhiyev, a bus driver who for 12 days had placed his official bus at the disposal of participants in the unsanctioned rallies. But through the fault of I. Gasanov, operations duty assistant to the chief of the Rayon Internal Affairs Department, and because of the lack of control on the part of the department's leadership, Gadzhiyev was unlawfully released from administrative responsibility after being taken to the Rayon Internal Affairs Department.

The actions of two offenders taken to the Nasiminskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department were not dealt with. S. Kerimov, criminal investigation operations officer, released them without any grounds for doing so.

Ch. Agayev, chief of the Baku Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Maintenance of Public Order Department, displayed irresponsibility in organizing the escort of offenders detained in Baku's central square. As a result some of these persons managed to escape.

Militia Colonel R.B. Mustafayev, chief of the Leninskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, Militia Lieutenant Colonel O.M. Mustafayev, his deputy for political work, and Militia Lieutenant Colonel Ye.T. Silyayev, chief of the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, were removed from their posts for unsatisfactorily organizing personnel's service in extreme conditions, for relaxing exactingness and supervision, for failing to take measures against offenders, and for illegally failing to bring them to account.

Militia Captain R.Z. Isayev, criminal investigation operations officer at Shaumyanovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, and Militia Senior Lieutenant I.D. Gasanov, duty assistant at the Leninskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, were removed from their posts and dismissed from the internal affairs organs.

For displaying an irresponsible attitude toward performing his official duties, Militia Captain S.M. Kerimov, criminal investigation operations officer in the Nasiminskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, was warned that he is falling short of professional requirements.

Militia Colonel Ch.E. Agayev, chief of the Baku Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Maintenance of Public Order Department, was reprimanded for displaying a superficial attitude toward organizing the transportation of offenders.

The attention of Militia Colonel F.A. Guseynov, chief of the Baku Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, was drawn to the poor standard of personnel's performance of official duty and the need to take decisive measures to strengthen law and order and legality.

Commandant Orders Sanitary Measures

NC0901205989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Order No. 15 by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, dated 9 January 1989]

[Text] Adherence to sanitary conditions in the city:

Anti-sanitary conditions prevail in individual districts in the city. [Words indistinct], the kitchens are (?unclean), a lot of rubbish and waste litter the yards of establishments, administrations, and houses, and the collection of garbage has been poorly organized.

The organizations responsible for cleanliness and order in the city's districts are not fulfilling their tasks. In view of this, I order the following:

1. The chairmen of the district Soviet executive committees should take operative and practical measures aimed at having rubbish and garbage removed from streets, houses, and land, and continuously control the maintenance of cleanliness and order in their districts in the future.

2. The leading officials of establishments and administrations should organize the cleaning of the land which belongs to these administrations and establishments by using the pertinent city services by 16 January.

3. Field commanders are assigned the task of supervising the fulfillment of this order.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Shcherbina-Led Commission Arrives

PM0601163189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 1

[AZERINFORM report: "In the Government Commission"]

[Text] A government commission set up to give assistance to a certain section of the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR populations forced to leave their permanent place of residence in these republics, and led by B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Baku 4 December.

A meeting took place between the members of the government commission and A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, other republic leaders, and the command of the troop subunits ensuring order and the safety of the population in Baku and the rayons of Azerbaijan.

In the second half of the day B.Ye. Shcherbina and G.N. Seidov flew to the Nakhichevan ASSR, where they met with members of the Azerbaijani population who had left the Armenian SSR. Conversations took place which examined specific requests regarding questions of providing citizens with housing, foodstuffs, and medical and other forms of social and consumer services, finding work for them, and giving them material assistance.

A routine session of the government commission took place 5 December.

The commission is continuing its work.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Appoints Officials

LD1001100789 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 13 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] Decree: The Presidium of the AZSSR Supreme Soviet, by decree, appoints Comrade Aydyn Yusif Ogly Mamedov as chairman of the AZSSR People's Control Committee.

The Presidium of the AZSSR Supreme Soviet, by decree, appoints Comrade Salekh Gilal Ogly Gadzhiyev as minister of land reclamation and water resources of the Azerbaijan SSR.

[Signed] Tatliyev, chairman; Kaziyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the AZSSR Supreme Soviet. City of Baku, 12 December 1988

Azerbaijan Ideology Commission Holds 1st Meeting

NC0901081889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 7 Jan 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission has held its first meeting. The commission was established by a Central Committee plenum in accordance with the recommendations of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The newspapers report that the commission will study problems in the ideological field, draw up a report for the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on the concept of the methods and [words indistinct] of ideological work, control the way in which party decisions are implemented, and actively participate in the analysis of the most important problems in the life of the republic's party organization.

Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Ideology Commission, addressed the meeting.

Solovyev Cites Party Leadership 'Failure' 9 Dec

PM0601124789 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[Apparent text of 9 December speech by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, at 26th Leningrad City CPSU Organization Conference]

[Text] Comrades!

Among the multiplicity of topics being raised in the course of today's discussion of the Leningrad party gorkom report I must single out the chief one: the role and place of the party committee and its stand on the revolutionary processes of restructuring.

This approach is dictated by the 19th all-union party conference guidelines and the CPSU Central Committee July and November (this year) Plenum decisions, which outlined ways to further deepen the socioeconomic and political transformations.

Democratization and glasnost have radically altered the situation. The party's attention is now centered on tasks directly connected with concern for people, their political and spiritual growth, and their working and living conditions.

Take, for example, such apparently exclusively economic matters as housing, goods and services, health care and transport, the preservation and reconstruction of Leningrad's historic center, the development of new city districts—in short, everything connected with supporting life in a city of 5 million people.

It cannot fail to be seen that the problems which have accumulated here over the decades without being properly resolved have now assumed paramount political significance.

We must proceed from this in our practical work, bringing to the fore the resolute enhancement of the responsibility and organizing role of party committees and primary organizations with regard to ensuring the tasks advanced by restructuring in all aspects of economic and social development and sociopolitical life in the city.

Appreciable positive changes have occurred in the activity of the party gorkom and its bureau in recent years. There is greater businesslike efficiency and specificness in examining questions, and more attention is devoted to the problems which Leningraders raise most sharply.

However, comrades, what has been done must be regarded as the first steps, albeit important ones. A fundamental breakthrough has not yet been achieved in many areas of the gorkom's work. The search for new forms and approaches frequently pushes the essence of questions into the background, and words are not always backed by specific deeds.

It seems to me that certain key aspects should be singled out in particular.

During the period under review the CPSU gorkom bureau repeatedly examined at its sessions the work of party organizations and leading cadres responsible for fulfilling the Food Program. Many people remember the gorkom bureau session relayed on Leningrad television.

Urgent and timely decisions were adopted. In particular, important measures of party influence were outlined which were designed to ensure the organization of direct deliveries of vegetable produce under the "field-to-store" scheme, the transfer of fruit and vegetable bases to the lease contract, and an improved standard of service for customers. However, the necessary changes did not happen. Leningraders felt this during both the summer and the fall of this year.

This means that there is a failure in party leadership. And it happens, above all, in organizational work on fulfilling adopted decisions and mobilizing primary party organizations and every Communist to realize the set tasks. Moreover, many party components of the Leningrad City Main Administration for the Fruit and Vegetable Industry work sluggishly and have relaxed exactingness toward cadres.

It is no coincidence that, despite the good harvest obtained on our farms, the targets for laying vegetables and potatoes in store for the winter have not been fulfilled. The main administration has not made the

switch to economic methods of management. Orders and instructions still predominate here, not people's material interest in improving things.

However, incidentally, the leaders of the said main administration did display energy and persistence for the sake of their own material interests, which enabled them to secure the storage plan's downward amendment.

These facts indicate that the policy which has been outlined by party committees, including the party gorkom, and which is to be implemented locally by primary party organizations far from always ensures a specific practical outcome.

What I have said applies also to the state of affairs at food industry enterprises, where the modernization and expansion of production are inadmissibly being delayed and output quality is improving extremely slowly. Many chronic shortcomings have accumulated in trade, the services sphere, and municipal services.

Outwardly these appear to be production problems but, since they directly affect people's lives, they acquire a political hue and a political essence. The party gorkom, raykoms, and primary organizations must proceed from just this principled premise in ensuring the social programs outlined for implementation.

Particularly as the state of affairs as a whole in these sectors is regarded by Leningraders as plainly unsatisfactory, it was subjected to sharp criticism at the report and election party conferences and meetings.

It is high time we all tackled specifically and responsibly party backup for these problems and the implementation of an effective political line, ruling out the parallelism and duplication of party obkom and gorkom departments which have taken shape here and the petty tutelage of Leningrad Gorispolkom services and administrations which frequently happens.

Please understand correctly the critical tone of the assessments of the state of Leningrad's social sphere. This is the objective reality, and we have no right to go on tolerating it. That would be political myopia. Many of our leaders are excessively keen on self-reproach and analysis of shortcomings. But it is not enough just to comprehend past mistakes. Specific practical steps forward are needed.

I should touch here on our fundamental party question—the question of work with cadres. Of course, we must proceed from the existing realities here too.

First, a sizable part of the cadre corps was formed at the time of the command-administrative system and is finding it hard to master new approaches to work, waits for instructions "from above" on any matter, and is unable to assume party-minded responsibility. At the same time the new cadre generation suffers from an acute shortage of organizational skills and knowledge.

But the simple stating of facts will not alter the state of affairs. More vigorous action is needed to resolve these problems at all levels—from the primary party organization to the party gorkom.

The necessary direction must be given to the democratic methods in cadre policy which have entered our life. Nominations for posts based on broad and public discussion and multiple-candidate competitive election of leaders have proved their effectiveness and use. They make it possible to enhance cadres' responsibility and to develop initiative and creativity in them.

At the same time many errors and mistakes have already been made. Precisely these have prompted the debate now being conducted in some places as to whether the policy of democratization was adopted too early. I would like to make the following reply to this: Any delay now is unacceptable for restructuring. People will not understand or support those who take even a single step back from its most important guarantees—democracy and glasnost.

The crux of the matter lies elsewhere. The truth is that many party organizations in the city are lagging behind events. As a result, group interests have prevailed in certain collectives—which has led to the nomination of "conflict-free" and "convenient" working people rather than vigorous and enterprising ones.

There are also examples where the resolution of cadre questions is delayed for many months at a number of city enterprises for similar reasons.

The party gorkom and raykoms must ensure the predominance of party organizations' influence in implementing a modern cadre policy underpinned, naturally, both by public opinion and by the interests of the cause. This is the essence of political approaches in the selection and placing of cadres.

The system of training and retraining cadres must also be radically revised. The major changes in economic and political life and the pressing need to quickly master new management methods demand, on the one hand, the intensification of this process and, on the other, a close link with the dynamically changing modern conditions.

The vigorous activity of many amateur associations and clubs, which makes it possible to reveal more fully the spiritual and moral potential of our society, has become a visible sign of the times, for example.

But, as already pointed out, it is obvious that groups have appeared on this wave whose ideology is incompatible with socialism's positions and with its basic ideals and values. However, our cadres and party organizations have not taken a principled or, most importantly, an active stand with regard to some of them, such as the "Democratic Union," "Pamyat," and a number of others.

The party gorkom is not yet doing so either. Correct conclusions are not always followed by the necessary actions. This circumstance results in negative formations

penetrating the worker and student environments and the ranks of the creative intelligentsia and conducting hostile propaganda there without meeting with a proper party rebuff.

In short, comrades, the party gorkom's work style demands a qualitatively new standard in all areas. It must fully accord with the spirit and tasks of restructuring and, above all, be geared to the specific and visible positive changes in economic, social, political, and cultural life which Leningraders await.

The upcoming soviet elections will be a crucial test for us all. In accordance with the laws adopted by the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session, they will be held on a principled, democratic basis. Party organizations must mount the preparations for them jointly with trade unions and the Komsomol, women's and veterans' associations, creative unions which operate from constructive positions, and amateur associations in close connection with resolving the socioeconomic and educational tasks facing society.

The Leningrad party organization has always enjoyed high prestige in the party—prestige which its deeds, patriotic undertakings, initiative, and creative questing have created. And I would like to conclude my speech by expressing the wish that the party gorkom will preserve and augment these good traditions.

Leaders Attend Moscow Rayon Conferences

PM0901105989 [Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 December 1988 devotes its page 2 to four correspondents' reports under the rubric "At Rayon Party Conferences."

A. Balitskaya's 1,500-word report covers proceedings at the Kievskiy Rayon party conference under the headline "The Key Word," and concludes: "D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, took part in the conference's work."

A 1,500-word report by I. Krasnopolskaya and L. Mishina covers proceedings at the Kirovskiy Rayon party conference under the headline "Uneasy Start," and concludes: "A. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, took part in the conference's work."

Neither report specifies the date on which the conferences were held.

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 December 1988 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word report by N. Batalova under the rubric "At the Rayon Party Conferences," headlined "Taking the Highway." The report covers proceedings at the Sokolnicheskiy Rayon party conference, without specifying the date on which it was held, and concludes: "N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the conference's work."

Vlasov Writes in New RSFSR Information Bulletin

PM0901134189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Informing Foreign Readers About the RSFSR"]

[Text] The RSFSR has every chance of making a breakthrough in boosting food production in 1989-1990.

The "2-year food plan" recently drawn up by the republic government is directed to this end. A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, talks about this and other priority tasks in the federation's socioeconomic development in a new TASS publication, the information bulletin SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The articles in the bulletin's first issue, which subscribers have already received, comprise the following: An interview with RSFSR Foreign Minister V.M. Vinogradov on the republic's foreign ties; reflections by G.P. Bogomyakov, first secretary of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom, on problems in developing this oil-producing area; and a conversation with Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutitskiy and Kolomna, who sums up the celebrations marking the millennium of the arrival of Christianity in Russia.

The bulletin will appear twice monthly in Russian and English. Although it is mainly aimed at foreign readers, sections of Soviet societies for friendship with foreign countries and other social organizations in the country have shown great interest in the new publication.

Uzbek Central Committee Apparatus Reorganized

PM0901112389 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 12th Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 7 December 1988. R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report "On Reorganizing the Structure of the Apparatus of the Republic's Party Organs and Forming the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Commissions."

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum adopted the resolution "On Reorganizing the Structure of the Apparatus of the Republic's Party Organs."

The plenum approved the following as Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee commission chairmen: V.P. Anishchev of the Party Organizational and Cadre Work Questions Commission; R.N. Nishanov of the Ideological Commission; P.K. Khabibullayev of the Legal Questions Commission; Sh.Z. Komalkhodzhayev of the Socioeconomic Development Questions Commission; and D.D. Berkov of the Agro-Industrial Complex Commission.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum examined organizational questions. In connection with the fact that A.S. Ikramov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, has been elected first secretary of Samarkand party obkom, he was released from his duties as secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Bureau. Sh.Z. Komalkhodzhayev, who previously worked as chief of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, was elected secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Bureau. M.M. Mirkasymov, first secretary of Tashkent party obkom, was elected a member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum approved the following Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee department chiefs: P.V. Dogonkin of the Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department; Sh.S. Ziyamov of the Ideological Department; Sh.R. Mirsaidov of the Socioeconomic Department; V.D. Velikanov of the State Law Department; and K.T. Tairov of the General Department. R.Kh. Abdullayev was approved as chairman of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission, and Z.Kh. Khaydarov as administrator of affairs of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

In connection with an application from L. Kayumov, editor of the newspaper SOVET UZBEKISTONI, to be reassigned, O.I. Usmanov, who previously worked as deputy editor of the newspaper, was approved as editor of SOVET UZBEKISTONI.

The plenum expelled from the ranks of the CPSU the following members of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee for compromising themselves: I.D. Dzhabbarov, N.R. Radzhabov, A.U. Salimov, and I.B. Usmankhodzhayev.

With this the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum concluded its work.

Moldavian Aide Ponders Ethnic Issues

PM0901164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by V. Kiysvik, Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee sector chief, under the rubric "USSR Is Our Common Home": "I Am Not Ashamed of My Concern"]

[Excerpt] Kishinev—[passage omitted] Contacts between people are a delicate affair in general. But when it comes to people of different nationalities, they are doubly delicate. You will agree that if a conversation is being conducted in a language that you do not understand, a psychological barrier, an invisible wall which puts people on their guard and keeps them apart whether they want it or not, usually arises. Naturally, this is not conducive to the development of high standards in mutual relations. And as for attempts to enhance the prestige of your own language at the expense of another, to actually ban the influx of people from elsewhere, or to seek the economic isolation of a republic—what sort of behavior is this?

I can sympathize, for instance, with the thousands of Moldavians who live in the Baltic republics or work there temporarily at the invitation of agricultural workers or fishermen. I must admit that I too have not felt very comfortable of late in some regions. Perhaps I am wrong, but it seems to me that people around me have begun to view me with suspicion, as it were. They look on me as an outsider of whom anything might be expected tomorrow. I am sure that my experiences are shared by Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians living in a number of other republics. Yet people who know the inhabitants of the Baltic republics well have always noted their enviable qualities—self-possession, common sense, and reliability, for instance. All this has not disappeared into thin air, after all.

It is said that unregulated migration has resulted in an unfavorable demographic situation for the indigenous population in a number of republics and that it today constitutes a small proportion [of the total population]. But how are the people who came from elsewhere at one time or another and have settled there to blame for this? Is this situation really so terrible? Yet attempts by certain impatient "politicians" to resolve the problems which have arisen and to implement their plans by curbing the rights of people of other nationalities and even expelling them are not new, alas. There are examples of this in history. But is it permissible to cultivate such sentiments in our country, in these complex times?

It is obvious that the tension in individual republics has arisen not as a result of language problems or excessive immigration, but above all as a result of a neglect of socioeconomic issues and lags in satisfying people's everyday needs. The development of democracy has also helped to expose formalism in international education, which has produced the reverse of the desired result, namely the growth of nationalist phenomena. The right of republics to elevate the national language to the status of a state language is not in question. In Moldavia work to this effect is under way. Yet why not take into account also the fact that the interests of other peoples who also have deep roots here could be better reflected by a second state language—the Russian language, which is traditionally recognized and widely used?

It is possible, of course, to stop all population migration processes in one fell swoop... But does this mean that there will be more high-grade goods in local stores?! Will people start working more conscientiously? Will they create true works of science, technology, and art?

Once, in preparation for a Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on international and patriotic education, I was asked to carry out a study of the situation at the Rybnitsa metallurgical plant.

When I asked how many workers of the indigenous nationality there were at the plant and how many of them were specialists, foremen, and team leaders, my interlocutors kept shrugging their shoulders. When I said

that, in my opinion, the proportion of the local population was low in some category, the plant workers looked perplexed. "So what," they asked, "what does it matter? Has anything happened? Has there been a complaint?" "No," I told them, "I am just conducting a study to see the situation." "What is there to study? We do not look at each other's passports. If we judge people, it is according to their qualifications, the results of their work, their skills, their diligence, and their attitude toward comrades. That is the only yardstick for us."

The Rybnitsa metallurgical plant, which once had to recruit many specialists from outside to master a production process which was new to the republic, is functioning efficiently today. By "digesting" virtually all the republic's metal scrap, it supplies around 200,000 tonnes of rolled steel annually! Social problems are also being successfully resolved here. During this 5-year plan alone more than 800 of the plant's workers have moved into new apartments. And although belatedly, as elsewhere in the country, incidentally, environmental protection is being tackled head-on.

This is nothing special to be proud of, by the way. It is the command of our society and of life itself. You cannot argue with that. It is no accident that developed European countries are working most resolutely to create a kind of "united states of Europe" with a single market, a common currency, and a common language for interethnic communication. It is no accident that a great deal is being done to lower border barriers and to promote free contacts between states and their inhabitants. It is no accident either that the United States and other highly developed countries are trying to reinforce and enrich their intellectual and scientific potential through the involvement of immigrants.

...And what are we doing? Where may this current (a current which is spontaneous only at first glance) which we are watching passively and sometimes even unwittingly supporting carry us?

To national aloofness? To isolation?

Choosing this path means taking the shortest route to losses not only in the economy but also in spiritual life! Is this what we expect to gain from revolutionary restructuring?

Ukrainian Politburo Discusses Ethnic Issues

PM0901113989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Important Question Discussed"]

[Text] Kiev, 5 Jan—A session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo discussed the question of progress in fulfilling the previously adopted resolution "On Measures To Implement the Directives of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum in the Sphere of Ethnic Relations and To Reinforce the Population's International and Patriotic Education." It was noted that the republic's party committees have stepped up the attention they devote to improving interethnic relations and the population's patriotic and international education. The main attention was drawn to the development of people's responsibility for the successful resolution of the tasks set by the party in the interests of restructuring all spheres of the life of our multiethnic socialist state.

At the same time the rates, scale, and quality of the work that has been carried out do not fully accord with the requirements of restructuring, socialist renewal, the further improvement of interethnic relations, and the development of the process of democratization. The qualitative changes under way in the sphere of interethnic relations are not being analyzed in the requisite depth, and the dynamics of the new processes are not being taken into consideration.

The resolution pointed out that the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on questions of improving interethnic relations must be regarded as the immediate job for all party committees and organizations and every Communist.

Measures were outlined concerning reinforcing the population's international and patriotic education.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, made a speech at the session.

Tourism Administration Abolished in Kiev

AU0901133489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Jan 80 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] By a decree of 30 December 1988, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has abolished the Ukrainian SSR Main Administration for Foreign Tourism.

Lithuanian Central Committee Plenum Report

PM0601165989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Dec 88 p 1

["Information Report on Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 15th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 9 December in Vilnius. It discussed organizational questions.

The plenum relieved Comrade N. Mitkin of his duties as second secretary and member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension.

The plenum elected Comrade V. Berezov second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade B. Zaykauskas was elected secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Bureau.

The plenum elected Comrade A. Maldonis, Lithuanian SSR people's poet, a candidate member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum ratified the following department chiefs of the new structure Lithuanian Communist Party:
Comrade Yu. Peletskis, chief of the Ideological Department;
Comrade V. Yankauskas, chief of the Socioeconomic Department;
Comrade Yu. Zhebrauskas, chief of the Agrarian Department;
Comrade V. Gerzhonas, chief of the State and Law Department.
Comrade B. Alyukonis was ratified as chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Administration of Affairs.

The plenum ratified Comrade S. Apanavichyus as chairman of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Committee.

Comrade A. Laurinchyukas was relieved of his duties as editor of TIESA in connection with his transfer to creative work.

The plenum ratified Comrade M. Barisas as editor of TIESA. The plenum ratified Comrade Z. Baltsevich as editor of CHERNOVYY SHTANDAR.

A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

***Informal Lithuanian Inter-Ethnic Group Formed**
WA18000373 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 3

[Own Information report: "The Lithuanian International Coordination Association Has Been Formed"]

[Text] On 17 December 1988 the Lithuanian International Coordination Association was formed jointly by the Vilnius Council of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, the Russian Culture Center, the Social-Cultural Council of the Poles of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Jewish Culture Society, the Group for Support of the Culture of the Tartars of Lithuania, the "Tkuma" Jewish Society, the "Syabryna" Belorussian Club, the Estonian Culture Society, the Armenian Culture Center, the Initiative Committee of the Ukrainian Culture Society and the Council for Solving Lithuanian Restructuring Movement Nationality Problems at Vilnius Industrial Enterprises.

The organizers of this new association set its goal as the unification of social movements in the republic and the improvement and strengthening of international relations. Among the fundamental principles of this association are the achievement of the economic, cultural and political sovereignty of Lithuania in the indivisible federation of equal and sovereign states of the USSR. The association will work toward giving the Lithuanian language the actual status of state language while at the same time providing legal guarantees for the use of the languages of other nationalities in Lithuania.

***New Lithuanian Telegraph Agency Director Named**
WA18000372 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution freeing Algimantas-Mikolas Mikolovich Stankyavichyus from his duties as director of the Lithuanian Telegraph Agency [ELTA] in connection with his retirement.

Robertas Pranovich Grikyavichyus was designated the new director of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Lithuanian Telegraph Agency [ELTA].
est
PM0901122589 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Jan 89 p 3

[Report by own correspondent G. Kryuk under the "We Report the Details" rubric: "What Happened in Tashkent"]

[Text] Tashkent—We have seen many graphic examples of combat fraternity and equitable cooperation between the Soviet and Afghan people in recent years. Tashkent serves as the gateway to the USSR for air travelers from Afghanistan, and it has warmly and cordially received from the neighboring country worker and trade union delegations, students, trainee specialists, schoolchildren, and visitors who come to vacation or receive treatment in the republic's best sanatoriums and pioneer camps. Hundreds of Afghan students today study in VUZ's, technical schools, and colleges in the Uzbek capital, and thousands have returned home with diplomas qualifying them as engineers, doctors, teachers, and lawyers. Then suddenly...

I never thought I would write about such a thing. I did not believe the rumors that swept around the city and seemed the product of someone's fevered imagination: Crowds of Afghan nationals are attacking citizens, overturning vehicles and setting them on fire, injuring passers-by...

What actually happened in Tashkent on New Year's Day?

It began, as it emerges, with an insignificant skirmish in the old city square of Chorsu. There, alongside the rows of market stalls, you quite often see students selling goods they have brought from abroad. On this occasion it was Afghan students attending a 2-month teacher training course who were there as sellers, sellers who, one must be blunt, are accustomed to charging very high prices.

It is difficult to say who was the first to insult whom—the speculators or the potential customers. However, a fight broke out. The speculators felt offended and rushed to their hostel for assistance. Many of them were, unfortunately, under the influence of alcohol and drugs.

The excited crowd managed to do quite a lot of damage.

They stopped and overturned passing cars—17 were damaged, 4 burned out. The highway patrol post in the Tashkentskiye Mineralnyye Vody area was also attacked. Completely innocent people were assaulted. Stones and heavy objects were used. One group of hooligans went on the rampage in the VUZ campus area, while another got into the lobby of the Moskva trade union hotel and tried to break into its restaurant, where several hundred vacationing schoolchildren from all over the country were having supper. Hotel staff and tourists staying there who were acting as voluntary assistants barred the louts' way.

The excesses went on till the next morning, when the efforts of the police and public of the city succeeded in subduing them. The result of this outrageous behavior is grim: 18 people have been hospitalized. Three Tashkent inhabitants have already died in the hospital as a result of head wounds they sustained, including a 6-month-old baby girl called Nargiza. Her mother, Shakhista Ergasheva, a kindergarten worker, is in an extremely serious condition. An Afghan student is also critical.

"What happened doesn't make sense," Nazar Mohammad, a student at Tashkent State University's preparatory faculty for foreign students and member of the Afghan students society, told me in conversation. "For 4 years I fought for my people's freedom alongside your boys. They put their lives on the line for us, you know. How, then, is it possible to so blasphemously encroach upon our sacred fraternity! Those who started the riot are scum. Renegades! That is what every honest Afghan will tell you. No one will be able to disturb the friendship sealed by our jointly shed blood..."

PRAVDA Condemns Georgian Nationalist Actions

PM0501141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent G. Lebanidze "Journalist's Notes": "Lessons of Glasnost"]

[Text] Georgian SSR—The people sought the truth for a long time and finally asked the sage for help. They heard the following response: "You are wonderful, for the truth lies in you yourselves. Look in your hearts and souls and you will find it there."

I remembered this ancient Georgian parable today when I saw people looking into "their hearts and minds" overcome by an irrepressible desire to find out the reasons for the flaws and deformations in our life.

The social activeness of young people is particularly impressive and delightful. Before our very eyes they have in a short time shaken off, as it were, their recent apathy and become vigorously involved in revolutionary transformations and establishing democratic norms of life. The recent meetings between D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and students from Tbilisi State University and polytechnical and medical institutes were very significant in that respect. Were there any problems that did not come under discussion there: the economy, demography, ecology, the preservation of ancient monuments, the teaching of the native language, and many others. Of course there was no avoiding the maximalism characteristic of young people but it was gratifying that they reacted with profound understanding to the explanations and thoughts of their older comrade, defended their own opinions, and engaged in dispute, while observing a lofty standard of debate. Their in-depth knowledge of the republic's "sore problems" and their desire to act to overcome the negative phenomena was a source of delight. It was clear that they have complete trust in the Central Committee secretary's word that none of the public's questions and just demands for the good of the republic will be left unattended and concrete solutions will be found.

Analogous conversations were held with other members of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the Tbilisi Party Gorkom, and raykoms at educational establishments and worker collectives....

One cannot say that the republic's leaders had not hitherto been alarmed by the problems that had accumulated. But one must also acknowledge the fact that the public's heightened interest in these problems in conditions of glasnost and democracy served as a kind of catalyst to resolve them. Thus, with active pressure from the public it proved possible to speed up the quest for ways to transfer the republic to economic accountability [khozraschet]—with consideration for Georgia's natural, geographical, ethnic-historical, and economic features and using the experience of the fraternal republics. Broad discussion is under way in the press and on television of the draft Georgian state language program; the draft provides for deepening research in this field, improving language teaching in schools and VUZ's, and establishing the Georgian language as a state language in the republic. Measures have been outlined regarding the compulsory teaching of the Georgian language in non-Georgian schools. For knowledge of the language of the people on whose territory you live and work is a mark of respect for them and their culture.

The discussion of the draft state program for research into and the teaching and popularization of the Georgian SSR's history, archaeology, and ethnography also provoked ardent interest on the part of the public. Undoubtedly, the scientists who, during the preliminary discussion of the program at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, mentioned the need for thorough competent examination of every clause and for boosting the standard of teaching of the republic's history in educational establishments were right. The participants in the discussion pointed out that new Georgian history textbooks should be published in Abkhazi, Osetian, Russian, Armenian, and Azeri, and all the work in the field of research should be carried out in conditions of free debate and of the improvement of interethnic relations.

It was precisely as a result of extensive "public examination" that the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers concluded that there were shortcomings in the design of the Caucasus railroad pass. Ecological requirements were not taken into consideration and that is why it was decided to mothball construction.

Wasn't the discussion of the draft laws on reform of the political system a remarkable sign of the restructuring of public consciousness! Georgia's public reacted negatively to certain clauses of the draft constitution. Participants in conferences, large rallies, and demonstrations, the Georgian Writers' Union, and members of the "Shota Rustaveli" Society, which, incidentally, has gained great popularity in a short time, opposed them. Then the Presidium and a session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet also took up the same stance. When the USSR Supreme Soviet took a number of the amendments into consideration during the ratification of the final version of the laws, this graphically confirmed the party's adopted course of democratizing society and the effective force of public opinion.

However, one cannot fail to mention other events of these days that initiated the whole series of current illegal actions. People appeared who had no affinity for the successes of restructuring, the democratization of society, and the normal functioning of its institutions. They organized noisy rallies and processions in Tbilisi—both with and without the sanction of the local organs of power. Self-styled "leaders" like Gamsakhurdia, Kostava, Chanturiya, and others grabbed the rostrum and the microphone and only allowed...themselves or people to their liking to speak, prevented their opponents from the prestigious representatives of the intelligentsia and the working class from speaking and thus barred the way to pluralism of opinion in an endeavor to present themselves as the sole patriots and zealots for the good of the nation. Guided by the principle that the most dangerous lie is the one that contains elements of the truth, they tried to direct public opinion along a previously set channel. They spoke of the people's quite just demands—while at the same time, distorting their meaning, they tried to sow the seeds of ethnic dissension and desecrate a Georgian's sacred sense of the friendship and fraternity of the peoples. It is characteristic that these appeals of theirs received a fitting rebuff from the people and the progressive section of the intelligentsia.

Having realized the utter unpopularity of their slogans and appeals, the "leaders" began to withdraw and hurriedly "revamp" their extremist slogans. It was then that life taught them an object lesson. The Georgian people proved their adherence to friendship during the tragic days of the disaster that befell the fraternal Armenian people as a result of the earthquake. The wisdom of the following Georgian proverb was confirmed once again: "When trouble has befallen your home, don't be afraid, for you know that in its wake your neighbor will hurry to help you."

Certainly, Georgia's medics, excavation rescue workers, and pilots rushed to aid their Armenian brothers and then convoys of motor vehicles and trains carrying construction materials, equipment, warm clothing, medicine, tents, and food set off. Sanatoriums, rest homes, and pioneer camps opened their doors wide to the victims and hundreds of hospital beds were vacated.

Z. Gamsakhurdia told a journalist hypocritically:

"There are rumors that we are calling for the representatives of other peoples to be deported from Georgia and that we are kindling interethnic passions. That's a lie. On the contrary, our appeals to reason and for national reconciliation have been heard at this and other rallies."

These words so moved the author of an item that he did not notice the role of Gamsakhurdia and "company" in the action that took place before his very eyes—he did not think of it as so "crucial." But at that time an unprecedented mass hunger strike by young people was under way at the House of Government; these same "leaders" had instilled in these young people the idea that this was the only way they could secure the renunciation of the draft Law on Changes and Addenda to the USSR Constitution. Moreover, they insisted on the hunger strike lasting until precisely 1100 on 29 November. You see, that was what their "party" decreed. What did it matter to the "leaders": Neither they themselves nor their children took part in this serious action. Of course, Professor Gucha Kvaratskheliya, the mother of five children, who expressed sincere indignation on television about this, was right. In addition the "leaders" and their "plenipotentiaries" prevented medical aid being offered to the hunger strikers, thus jeopardizing the health of young men and women, including minors. More than 100 of them were hospitalized, many in a serious condition. I. Menagarishvili, the republic's minister of health, announced recently that some children have still not been able to recover from the psychological and physical trauma.

Whereas the hunger strike, on the one hand, showed young people's readiness to take vigorous actions for the sake of restructuring, on the other, it highlighted and revealed the inhumanity and adventurism of its organizers and showed the barbarity of which they are capable, speculating on this sacred readiness. The "leaders" openly proclaimed anti-Soviet and anticommunist slogans like "Georgia for Georgians!" "Long live Georgian independence" and even such blasphemous slogans as "Let blood be shed!" "We will meet terror with terror!" "Put an end to demographic expansion," and so on. They provoked riots, called for civil disobedience, mass surrender of party and Komsomol membership cards and yelled threats at party and soviet leaders, shouted appeals for warning strikes and demanded that the republic withdraw from the USSR. Things reached the point where one G. Isakadze, a worker at the "Saburtalo" Cooperative, got onto the roof of the House of Government and committed an outrage against the Georgian SSR State Flag.

Georgian Television, undoubtedly, acted correctly when it showed the course of a sanctioned rally at Batumi throughout the republic—this enabled the public to see the true complexion of the "ethnic zealots." From the rostrum they impudently dubbed everyone who did not

agree with them "traitors to the people" and at the university dared to threaten USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Georgia and "number" them all as traitors if they do not ensure the fulfillment of their "instructions" at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Who, in their opinion, could be described as traitors to the people? The best sons and daughters of Georgia, including Academician Tamaz Gamkrelidze, winner of the Lenin Prize, Professor Eteri Kemertelidze, Otar Taktakishvili, composer and winner of the Lenin Prize, Hero of Socialist Labor Grigol Abashidze, writer, Guram Metonidze, team leader at an electric locomotive construction plant, Hero of Socialist Labor Givi Tsitlidze, a renowned rural leader, and many others.

A sinister kind of harmony—"traitor to the people" and "enemy of the people"—isn't it? These dreadful labels are pinned on them by people who have sacrificed nothing to the fatherland and have made no contribution to the economic and cultural construction of the motherland.

I wrote about them once in PRAVDA. Well? Various libelous and calumnious letters were sent to our editorial office, republic editorial offices, and me personally. I well realize that today I am also running the risk of getting on thier list but I am sure that in saying all this I am expressing the feelings of the overwhelming majority of my countrymen and compatriots.

How can one fail to remember the recent articles in Georgia's KOMUNISTI by G. Lordkipanidze, the prominent producer and winner of the State Prize, and Revaza Dzhaparidze, the well-known Soviet prose writer and winner of the Shota Rustaveli Prize, who expressed their indignation regarding these individuals' irresponsible actions. R. Dzhaparidze wrote: "In what way is all this better than the thirties when innocent people were dubbed enemies of the people and one and all were sent to the scaffold? No way, no way at all. It is only better in that then it was 'they' and now it is a question of named individuals." Professor N. Lomouri expressed a similar idea after the television program: "If they get power, they will repeat the worst scenarios of the thirties."

Unsanctioned demonstrations and sit-in strikes in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Batumi, and Zugdidi, of course, violated the rhythm of life and inflicted a great deal of material losses and—and this is the most important—psychological and moral problems. It is no coincidence that various kinds of corrupt elements freely made themselves felt amid this chaos.

M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people of Georgia and young people broadcast on radio and television and received by the overwhelming majority of demonstrators with warm approval played a crucial role in stabilizing the situation in the republic.

Many shortcomings in the work of party, Komsomol, and soviet cadres were highlighted in these extreme conditions. The party aktiv's republic conference and the Tbilisi party conference quite rightly pointed out here that a considerable proportion of cadres have made their lack of experience of open debate felt along with their years of "conditioned reflex" of acting solely by administrative-edict methods and solely on instructions "from above." They lacked experience of working with people, the ability to convince them, and knowledge of the psychology and laws of people's behavior in unusual conditions. Instead of resisting by staying on the offensive within the framework of democratic norms and laws, they switched to the defensive and were unable to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward violators of legality, instances of antisocial behavior, and violations of labor, production, and educational discipline and failed to provide a principled party assessment of the actions of demagogues, disinformation specialists, and rabble-rousers.

Today one can assert boldly that the public has covered all the bases, as they say, and has sharply criticized its uninvited defenders, and debunked them. This is illustrated by numerous letters and telegrams received by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, newspaper and journal editorial offices, television, and radio from prominent cultural figures, workers, and peasants. These letters regard the actions of these new leaders as an attempt to retard, compromise, and bring to a standstill the process of restructuring society. But the people will not allow them to do this.

Natural Disasters Cause Damage in Republics

Heavy Snow Takes Lives in Georgia

LD0701201689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Jan (TASS)—As a result of a week's heavy snowfall, accompanied by hurricane-force winds, the normal pace of life in parts of western Georgia (Transcaucasus) has been disturbed.

The TASS correspondent reports that in a number of towns and in many villages the electricity supply has stopped. Many homes have been damaged or destroyed. Two hundred and sixty agricultural facilities, dozens of hospitals and clinics, and communication lines have suffered. Vehicle traffic through the mountain passes has stopped. There are human losses.

A republican governmental commission has decided to evacuate the population from the disaster area. The afflicted areas are receiving aid in the form of machinery, building materials, fuel, food, and medicines.

IZVESTIYA reports today that all the republic's resources have been brought in to combat the elements. Rescue work, clearing roads and railroad lines, restoring communication lines, and bringing in foodstuffs continues round-the-clock. Dzhumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of Georgia's Communist Party, has visited the afflicted areas.

There was no wind over a large section of the republic's territory today. Weather forecasters, however, are predicting that the weather will deteriorate in the next few days.

Damage in Georgia Cited

LD0601225089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] A hurricane has swept across Georgia, leaving 616 settlements without electricity. Damage to houses, schools, and agro-industrial and retail facilities is estimated at tens of millions of rubles. Heavy snowfall in the mountains of Adzharia and southern Ossetia has caused loss of life. One hundred families have been evacuated from avalanche-danger zones. A train was derailed by an avalanche near Zestafoni. Nobody was hurt.

"Comrade Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, has visited the natural disaster zones." [Video shows high winds, damaged buildings, thick snow cover, derailed train]

Avalanche in Southern Ossetia

LD0601182989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Before the weather news we have the following dramatic report from the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. A snow avalanche, which burst off a steep slope and swept away all in its path, came down on one of six buildings in the mountainous village of (Mazhkhara). It claimed five lives, including three children. Although neighbors took all measures to save the (Kazayev) family, they were unable to.

Today the elements, having done their worst, have seemingly abated. The sun has been shining brightly over the mountains of the Dzhavskiy Rayon since morning, but, in the view of the experts, the warmer weather makes it even more probable that avalanches will come down. The local authorities have taken into account the hard lessons of the winter of the year before last when over 200 avalanches came down in the rayon, and had brought in foodstuffs, fuel, and essential goods to the villages. The leadership of the republic has afforded great assistance, but unfortunately the tragedy could not be avoided. Operations headquarters have been set up which have been given permission to make use of all necessary equipment in their work.

Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central committee, and other leaders of the republic have visited the disaster areas.

Official Discusses Draft Law on Inventions

LD0901184289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1143 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 9 (TASS)—The law on the activities of inventors must define its economic, organizational, and legal conditions in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, Ivan Nayashkov, chairman of the State Commission for Inventions and Discoveries, stated here today. He was speaking at a news conference organized by the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Describing the draft of the new law that has been put forward for nationwide discussion, he noted that this document and the legal acts accompanying it are designed to ensure a solution to the basic problems of Soviet invention work and a more efficient use of the intellectual potential of the country. The law must stimulate the work of Soviet scientists and engineers in designing radically new technology and types of equipment that would be competitive on the world market. It develops democratic principles in relations between inventors, guarantees that their rights and creative and economic interests will be observed, and encourages organization in the implementation of discoveries.

The activity of inventors is a source of more progressive technical solutions, Ivan Nayashkov stressed. The following figures indicate its role in the scientific and technical progress of the country: in 1987 alone 85,000 inventions were registered. The total economic benefit from the use of the work of inventors and rationalizers in the last 10 years has grown by two-thirds and reached R8,400 million in 1987. At the same time, he noted that under conditions of radical restructuring of the economy, the level of work on inventions cannot be described as wholly satisfactory. There are cases of unpatented discoveries being leaked abroad.

More on Customs Official on New Export Law

LD0501173889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] The new rules for export of consumer goods from the USSR correspond to the interests of our country. This was said by Vitaliy Konstantinovich Boyarov, first deputy head of the Main Administration of the State Customs Service of the USSR Council of Ministers, at a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. We are turning on a recording made at the press center.

[Begin Boyarov recording] In the course of the last year and a half, the customs service and other interested departments of the USSR have been monitoring and studying the question of the movement of goods through the USSR border and have compared this with the tendency that has, unfortunately, been occurring of shortages inside our country. As a result of this study, it was established that the most scarce goods, which include some that are competitive on the world market, are leaving the Soviet Union in large quantities. Various representatives of various countries, and Soviet citizens, and so on, are exporting them.

Well, say, over the entire year 500,000 television sets were sent abroad, 206,000 washing machines, and so on. I can name one more figure which should convince you that the problem was sufficiently acute. In 10 months, an official of one embassy sent out of the Soviet Union 392 refrigerators and freezers, 78 washing machines, and 142 air conditioners. The representative of another foreign mission sent abroad during the same 9 [as heard] months

188 refrigerators, 138 sewing machines, 1,400 irons, and 784 ventillators. And there are many such cases. In the next few days we will comment to the press on all the rules that have a bearing on exports. Everything will be described in detail.

The next question is who will be affected by this: tourists and foreign citizens, although these tourists include Soviet citizens residing abroad and those who have come to the Soviet Union as tourists to see their country once more or to visit their relatives, or persons who have arrived on private invitations. There you have two categories of people. The first two supplements apply to them on all items for which export is prohibited and on several dozen items which are limited by customs duty, ranging from 20 to 100 percent. All foreign missions and all other foreign citizens working as specialists in the Soviet Union are not affected by the limitations. A privileged customs position applies to them as before, although we, due to scarcity, are compelled to introduce certain norms: Say, one item of those for which export is prohibited per family per year. Say, one television set each year, one washing machine a year, and so on.

Foreign citizens will also have a ban applied to their exporting coffee and caviar, because it worked out to be ludicrous for us to be paying hard currency for coffee and to be letting it go abroad for rubles. If foreign citizens have acquired caviar and coffee in stores for foreign currency—in our stores—it will be allowed without impediment. This list of prohibition does not have bearing on Soviet citizens, either. They will enjoy the former system and Soviet citizens are allowed, as before to take abroad 200 grams of coffee and 250 grams of caviar, as was the case before.

The question is asked: Has a trade war not started between the socialist countries? No. And the term can be applied neither to the measures of our friends nor to our (?measures). [end recording]

New Government Bulletin's First Issue Reviewed

LD0701081089 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—To give a broad coverage to the Soviet Government's activity is the key task of the GOVERNMENT BULLETIN, an organ of the USSR Council of Ministers. Its first issue is brought out on Monday, January 9.

On its first page the bulletin features an address to readers by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. "The need for greater openness in the sphere of state management, in regular information of the public about the government's activity is growing as the political system is being democratized and the drastic economic reform deepened", the address says.

Among the materials of the first issue is an article by Aleksandra Biryukova, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, about a social re-orientation of the Soviet economy, and reflections by Academician Vladimir Kudryavtsev on a legal reform in the country.

Yevgeniy Chazov, Soviet health minister, and Nikolay Laverov, vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, tell about the efforts to deal with the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia and the lessons which should be drawn from this sad experience.

A TASS correspondent has learnt in the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers that apart from publishing the GOVERNMENT BULLETIN, the department will continue informing the Soviet and foreign public this year about the government's work with the help of television, radio and the press. Much attention will be paid to the coverage in various forms of pressing issues of the country's economic and social advancement. The practice of holding regular meetings of members of government, prominent Soviet scientists and specialists with journalists, which has proved its usefullness, will be continued, in part.

Projects Stopped on Environmental Grounds

LD0701200889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa writes: The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, whose activities are sharply criticized by the Soviet public because of unreasonably intrusive encroachments on nature, has lately also become the target of tough action by governmental bodies. More than half of the 57 projects prepared by the ministry in recent months have been rejected, mainly on environmental grounds.

Vladislav Anikeyev, the head of the environmental protection department of USSR Gosplan, told a TASS correspondent that among the projects which have been turned down is a scheme for the long-term development of the country's water resources. An expert commission of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) of the USSR has called for it to be radically revised. Also now being examined very critically is the scheme to build the Volga-Chogray and Dunay-Dnepr canals, also proposed by the USSR Ministry of Water Resources. Many distinguished scientists and specialists are opposed to this scheme.

In general, the USSR Ministry of Water Resources is being encouraged to rebuild existing systems, rather than build new ones.

It is not only the schemes of the USSR Ministry of Water Resources that by no means always pass the test of ecological purity: The same is happening to the programs of many other departments. The USSR Timber Industry Ministry, for example, has been forbidden to use capacities for the produciton of 231,000 tonnes of cellulose,

and in the country's chemical and metallurgical industries, hundreds of individual installations or production units were stopped or switched to other uses in 1988 alone.

The rigid demands made by state bodies with regard to the ecological basis of new projects is related to the fact that the ecological situation in a number of the country's regions remains tense, with cases of industrial waste and unpurified effluents being discharged into rivers and with an increased level of atmospheric pollution present at 50 industrial centers of the USSR. This year, over R36 million has been allocated in capital investment related to environmental protection alone. How is this going to be used?

"Above all, on the technological improvement of production," Vladislav Anikeyev replies. "Approximately two-thirds of this sum will be spent on new facilities for purifying effluents and on circulating water supply systems. They will be put into operation in major towns in Russia, the Ukraine, the Baltic states, and other Soviet republics. The task is to reduce the discharge of harmful admixtures into the atmosphere by 2 million tonnes this year. About 20 percent of resources is being allocated for implementing technical measures to purify effluents. In particular, urgent measures are being taken to improve the ecological situation in Krasnoyarsk, Kemerovo, and other towns where these problems are most acute."

Economic

Quake Costs Could Delay Repayment of Loan Bonds

PM1001094989 Moscow TRUD in Russian
8 Jan 89 p 4

["Mini-Interview" with S. Kuzicheva, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Finance Consolidated Data Department, by A. Trushin: "When Will the Bonds Be Repaid?"—place, date not given]

[Text] This question certainly perturbs many readers who are holders of bonds from the 1953 and 1954-1956 loans. We asked S. Kuzicheva, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Finance Consolidated Data Department, for an answer.

[Kuzicheva] The USSR State Budget for 1989, which was ratified by the 11th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, provided for full repayment of bonds from the State Loan for the Development of the USSR National Economy (issued in 1953), with further redemption of bonds issued in 1954-1956 as material and financial resources become available.

However, due to the earthquake in Armenia and the need to restore the economy in the republic's damaged rayons, additional material resources to a total of R9 billion have been appropriated. This is why the question of redeeming bonds from the 1953 loan this year remains open for the time being.

*Aftermath of Uralmash Rejection of State Plans

WA18200118 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents M. Berger and A. Pashkov: "The Matter of the Incident: What Uralmash Tried To Achieve and What It Got By Insisting on Target Revisions at the Beginning of the Year"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk-Moscow—"We offer our apologies to everyone who referred to 'The Uralmash [Ural Heavy Machine Building Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze] Incident' by mentioning and not mentioning IZVESTIYA (No 83, 1988), to everyone who was moved by this story to stand up for their right to independence and to argue with their ministry and other higher organizations." This is the way we wanted to begin this article after seeing the Central Television broadcast of the USSR Council of Ministers meeting which was addressed by V.M. Velichko, the minister of heavy, power and transport machine building, among others. The episode of interest to us was stated as follows in the verbatim account of the meeting. "Enterprises are adopting intensive plans for 1989 at a level no lower than the scheduled figures of the 5-year plan," Vladimir Makarovich reported. "Uralmash was actively falling behind and set its plan too low. But its work over 9 months attests to the fact that it overfulfilled the plan by R9 million. Its traditions did not coincide with the decisions made earlier. Uralmash, of course, will fulfill the plan for the year and will overfulfill it..."

Let us briefly mention what the March article in IZVESTIYA was about. The Uralmash collective of many thousands refused to accept the 1988 plan. The plan which had been sent down to it by the ministry, which in turn had received it from the Gosplan, which...

The Mintyazhmash [Ministry of Heavy, Power and Transport Machine Building] was faced with a difficult problem: where should the 30 million from the Uralmash production plan be put? But the labor collective council headed by A. Korolev, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, decided to take full advantage of the rights granted under Article 10 of the Law on the State Enterprise—to draft and adopt annual plans independently. In substantiating its own draft of the production program for 1988, the STK [labor collective council] raised a number of difficult questions for the ministry. Is it correct to plan output that has been rejected by customers? Can equipment be manufactured if there are no parts and will not be any parts for it? Can an order be filled if we do not have the necessary equipment for this?

In arriving at the conclusion that an honest and principled answer to these questions will begin with the words "it's incorrect" and "it's impossible," the collective decided not to assume impractical commitments. Uralmash arguments were checked in the visit by a commission of the USSR Council of Ministers' Bureau for Machine Building, and most of them were considered valid. As a result, the plan was reduced for the association. True, the reduced production volumes entailed a decrease in the economic incentive fund. However, the

collective took this step deliberately; the failure of the ministerial plan threatened much larger losses from the economic incentive fund—more than R4 million more.

The Sverdlovsk workers did not turn out to be the only ones "making an attempt" on the ministry's target. At the Mintyazhmash, 17 enterprises had taken issue with the plan targets sent down to them. However, only the Uralmash managed to stand its ground. This is why we were quite surprised at what we heard on television.

After all, many have associated the emergence of a real opportunity to set off economic logic against administrative dictation with a positive settlement of the conflict. What in our view was of particular interest and provided Uralmash with moral support from public opinion? It was not the fact that an enterprise, even one that is well-known, had made up its mind to engage in a public dispute with such powerful departments as the Mintyazhmash and the Gosplan, of course. The content of the dispute itself attracted universal attention.

Uralmash had called for realism: do not "plug up" the plan with the fact that what has evidently been done cannot be—whether it is the fact that there are no parts and will not be any parts or whether the capacities and equipment do not make it possible.

It now turns out that the results of 9 months which the minister had mentioned at the Council of Ministers meeting indicated: Uralmash had stirred up all this trouble for nothing and the collective was "actively falling behind and had set its plan too low" with the single purpose of creating an easy life for itself after exceeding the target without any difficulty. The conclusion may be drawn from this that, as before, the ministry and the Gosplan know best which targets to assign and whom to assign them to, right down to the individual enterprise. In short, a good lesson has been learned both by those who have had their disputes with "general instructions" and by those who may have been planning to have them in the future.

However, let us look at just what has happened. We have discussed this problem with many persons, and we want to mention first of all the reluctance with which they provided us with any information, not to mention any request to comment on certain facts. Discussion was possible only after we gave them a firm guarantee that we would not mention our sources. All in all, this is understandable: an enterprise remains an enterprise and a ministry remains a ministry, and it is difficult to predict the administrative consequences which "different economic thinking" would entail. For this reason, we will quote the opinion of just one person. First of all, it reflects what we have heard from others, and secondly, it comes from an "administratively independent" person—A. Korolev, the chairman of the association's labor collective council:

"The 9 million overfulfillment of the plan that the minister mentioned is not the output of additional products for an appropriate sum. Altogether a little over a million in above-plan 'commodities' were turned out. The rest of the 'overfulfillment' is the result of different surcharges that were applied: about R2 million for the Emblem of Quality, R2.2 million for delivery in complete sets, and so forth."

In other words, what exists here is an increase in volume in value terms, and even more simply, an increase in prices (and on a legal basis for business: quality and complete units are important factors), but this is in no way an increase in the output of equipment in physical calculation terms, as they say.

True, the following line is included among the basic indicators: "Volume of sale of commodity production" (with surcharges). But this is only one of four such entries (the third in sequence). But what about the others—(1) "Fulfillment of contract deliveries," (2) "Volume of commodity production in constant prices," and (4) "Normative net production"? As far as the NChP [normative net production] and the plan without price surcharges are concerned, there is also overfulfillment here, but not as striking as in the "third position"—just by tenths of a percent. But the "first position," the contract obligations, is simply a complete blank—95.3 percent, and Uralmash has paid almost 3.5 million in fines for nondelivery and violation of delivery periods alone.

In other words, analysis of the quality of plan fulfillment provides a completely different picture. The association has not carried out its commitments with respect to the range of products, that is, the output of specific products for specific consumers. There was also a dispute with the ministry at the start of the year about the inevitability of such a result.

We want to be understood correctly. We do not intend to take anyone at his word, and it is the personal business of the head of the ministry to select the indicator he considers necessary for his speech. However, it is interesting: why did the minister accent precisely this position for his report to the government without saying anything about the others?

This seems to us to be a question based on principle, and we wanted to ask Vladimir Makarovich directly, but he refused repeated requests from the editorial staff for a meeting. A responsible official at the ministry who answered our questions on the minister's behalf shed no light on the situation. He stated only that he cannot question the assessments of plan fulfillment given by the minister and would not comment on the details at all.

In our view, this is what the Uralmash incident and the subsequent development of events are about. Reliance on a volume indicator is convincing evidence of adherence to "gross criteria." Even if the association had turned out products that were not R9 million more expensive, but were larger in physical terms for the same sum, this would say even less. First of all, the planned mark assigned initially by the ministry could not have been reached under any circumstances, and it would have been impossible to consider the lower target demanded by the labor collective council unjustified. Secondly, the output of commodity production, either with surcharges or without them, in no way characterizes

the final result of economic activity—meeting the requirements of consumers. But after all, this is precisely what the economic reform is aimed at.

The fundamental questions of the association's work, which were also at the basis of the conflict and which also were asked in the course of its consideration, remained unresolved during the discussions on volumes.

In accordance with results of work by the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, which considered the dispute, a conference was held with the participation of three ministers of the USSR, Gosplan and Gossnab representatives, and responsible party and economic officials. A number of fundamental decisions and instructions were entered in the conference minutes. Thus, for example, the USSR Gosplan, with the participation of the Ministry of Heavy, Power and Transport Machine Building, was ordered to work out new methods for planning products with a lengthy manufacturing cycle. But no movement has been made in the Gosplan on proposals from the Mintyazhmash thus far. And although the proportion of the state order at Uralmash (as for the entire machine building complex) has been reduced significantly, it is still quite important in the plan and the old methods, with all their shortcomings and problems, remain in vogue.

The instruction to examine the structure and volume of the 1988 state order for Uralmash, taking the customer refusals into account, and based on its refinement, to enter the appropriate Mintyazhmash and Uralmash indicators, has not been carried out, either. That is, the volumes in monetary terms were taken away from the association, but the range of output, the specific products which Uralmash was saying were unnecessary or impossible to make, remained practically untouched.

Several other instructions from the Council of Ministers' Bureau for Machine Building were not carried out as well. In particular, with respect to increasing the limit for construction of housing and the children's training center.

But what is worst of all, in our view, is the fact that the bureau commission did not return in several months to Uralmash to analyze the development of events at the association. If such an analysis had been made, perhaps the minister's speech at the Council of Ministers meeting would have been different. And most importantly, labor collectives would have been able to avail themselves of the commission's analysis, if it had been made, in preparing their own production program for the next year.

In general, this is the way the lesson turned out. What is the use of calling out to public opinion if its unequivocal support provides neither the necessary equipment, the parts, nor the limits for housing construction—in a word, everything which the administrative system, and the ministry first of all, has at its disposal? Is it worth aggravating relationships with it even further?

Those who have followed the events after publication of "The Uralmash Incident" have had the chance to be convinced that nearly a year of operation after the Law on the State Enterprise came into force and operation under cost accounting conditions, the positions of the gross indicators have not weakened in the least. After all, those present at the Council of Ministers meeting accepted the argument on Uralmash' overfulfillment of the plan for commodity production sales in current prices (that is, with surcharges) so easily, and it created the illusion of success and, one must assume, the correctness of the ministry's position, so easily that no one asked for any clarifications or any data characterizing the qualitative aspect of the plan's fulfillment.

So are the criteria for our economic activity being changed, and are they becoming more objective or are they, as before, related so little to efficiency and so numerous that one needed for a report is always found?

Did the role of the ministry and its function change after the Law on the Enterprise went into effect, or is everything reduced as before to a trivial question about the size of the staff and the names for their services and subunits?

It is customary to call the current period of the economic reform a transitional period. "The Uralmash Incident" poses the question: what direction is the transition taking—toward new economic methods or toward renovated old principles?

Agricultural

Mild Weather Conditions Perist in Arable Regions

PM0601155989 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by O. Pisarenko, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Throughout most of the Soviet Union's European territory the weather is warmer than normal. The maximum air temperature has risen to 1-5 degrees, while in western Latvia, Lithuania, the west and south of Belorussia and the Ukraine, Moldavia, the south of Rostov Oblast, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, and the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus it has reached 6-10 degrees, and 10-16 degrees in Azerbaijan and Georgia.

As a result of the long thaw, the snow has disappeared from the fields in Lithuania, most of Belorussia, western and southern regions of the Ukraine, and Moldavia. The ice crust noted in most of these regions has broken up. In the rest of the Soviet Union's European territory at the end of December winter grain crops and perennial grasses lay beneath a snow cover ranging between 10-15 centimeters deep in southwest regions and 45-55 centimeters deep in northeast regions.

In some regions of Latvia, northern and eastern Belorussia, northern and central oblasts of the Ukraine, and also Kursk, Belgorod, Voronezh, Rostov, and Volgograd Oblasts an ice crust still covers the fields sown with winter crops and grasses.

Agricultural regions in western Siberia and the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan are still having unusually warm weather. The average air temperature in the first 10 days here was 5-10 degrees above the perennial average.

Thaws have been recorded virtually everywhere. At nighttime, however, the minimum air temperature has fallen to minus 21-30 degrees and even to minus 33 degrees in some areas. The wintering of winter grain crops and grasses has been successful, as the fields have been covered with a layer of snow mainly 15-30 centimeters deep. Only in the south of Novosibirsk Oblast and the west of Altay Kray has the snow cover in the fields been less than 10 centimeters, although there have been no severe frosts here and the minimum soil temperature at the tillering node depth and grass root collar has been minus 10-16 degrees.

In the Central Asian republics the temperature has fallen after a warm spell. In Turkmenia and Kashka Darya, Surkhan-Darya, and Samarkand Oblasts winter grain crops and grasses grew throughout most of the 10-day period. Rain fell in most regions. The crops' moisture supply has improved.

Agricultural Developments for 26 Dec-6 Jan

LD0801031088 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 26 December-6 January. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

26 December-4 January

No fileworthy items monitored.

5 January

The Uzbekistan State Agro-Industrial Committee has on the whole approved a general plan showing where cotton is to be sown during the forthcoming sowing campaign. This year 2 million hectares of arable land are being allocated to cotton, the main agricultural crop in the republic. Varieties will be used which most fully meet both the interests of the crop growers and of the textile industry. For the first time the Yulduz variety, evolved by plant breeders of the Tashkent Institute of Experimental Biology, will for the first time be transferred to kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields from trial plots. Trials over many years have shown that this variety ripens more quickly, produces a larger yield and, what is especially important, has a good type of fiber. (0500)

Grain and legume seed preparation has been completed by the farms of Belgorod Oblast, where emphasis has been on high-grade regionally tested varieties and on increasing seed quality. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0755)

6 January

No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

Tolstykh Interviewed on Key Research Programs

PM0901145589 Moscow SOSTIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with B. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, by D. Pipko: "A Dream Embodied in Programs"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] "Flight to Mars," "Human Gnome," "Safe AES," "Artificial Intelligence," "Automobile-2000"... Today these ideas no longer appear to be alien intruders from the pages of science fiction—they are the working titles of projects and areas within state scientific and technical programs. B. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, talks below about the role such programs are assigned in the new concept of the country's economic development and how they will be carried out.

[Tolstykh] In recent years life has repeatedly made us ponder: How come we have been left behind in many important scientific and technical areas?

Were there forecasts? Yes. Bold ideas ahead of their time? Our scientists, specialists, and inventors were unstinting here. So what was lacking? There was no system, no instrument to help to dynamically develop and implement these ideas. In the new concept of economic development discussed at our party Central Committee's November (1988) Plenum, state science and technology programs are to serve as such an instrument.

Figuratively speaking, they must help us look beyond the horizon. What will our grandchildren and great-grandchildren eat? Where will they live? In what will they fly and travel? What kind of illnesses will they suffer from? We need exhaustive answers to these and many other similar questions.

[Pipko] Boris Leontyevich, we have tried before to make use of the benefits of a targeted program approach to complex tasks. But with the possible exception of the nuclear and space problems, most of the programs did not live up to our hopes. Is it worth reverting to this form of work organization in the new management conditions?

[Tolstykh] It is not the form but the content that is at fault. In our pursuit of sheer quantity, we devalued the essence of programs: Many of the programs, though described as all-union, tackled purely sectorial tasks. Even then we should have measured ourselves against foreign experience. And we would have discovered that in the United States, for example, there are only 10 national programs. These include the SDI, a biomedical research program, including the fight against AIDS, and a so-called strategic computer initiative aimed at computerizing society. There are slightly more programs—

14—in Japan. One of them is concerned with creating a 5th-generation computer, another, called "Sunlight," is aimed at developing and making extensive use of alternative energy sources.

Numerically we are on par with the Japanese: 14 scientific and technical programs aspire to "state" status at present. A number of them, such as "Human Genome," "High Energy Physics," or "High Temperature Superconductivity" are basically aimed at carrying out fundamental and applied research. Others, however, like "Latest Bioengineering Methods" or "Environmentally Clean Power Industry" programs envisage the creation of new technologies and even the the commissioning of turnkey projects. The "Future Information Technologies" program is concerned with computerization as the stage after the industrialization of society. Each program consists of several areas. But in terms of their content and the nature of the end results and intended expenditure they all widely differ from one another.

The "Mars" program, for example, envisages the development of a detailed engineering model of that planet and the study of the technical potential for a manned flight to Mars. According to specialists, such a flight could take place in the years 2015-2017 if the scientific potential of the USSR, the United States, and other developed countries is pooled. In short, the realization of this long-standing dream of mankind depends on the success of the policy of detente.

Unlike the Mars program, the "Highly Efficient Food Production Processes" program has a purely earthbound aim, namely, to feed the country. Here the output produced must not contain the slightest traces of fertilizers or toxic chemicals and its price must be within everyone's reach. It is clear that this task cannot be solved without modern equipment and technologies and new environmentally safe chemical and biological preparations. With their aid it is planned by the years 2000-2005 to boost the productivity of the land 2-3 times and to cut losses of agricultural output sustained transportation and storage 3-4 times.

Programs such as "Construction Progress-2000," "Fight Against the Most Prevalent Diseases," and "High-Speed Environmentally Clean Transport" also have a direct bearing on our everyday concerns. As a result of their implementation construction workers will be able to triple labor productivity, doctors will be able to extend patients' lifespan by 8-10 years on average, and passengers will be able to travel on "Center-South" trains at 350 km per hour. And the deciphering of our genetic makeup as part of the "Human Genome" program will make it possible to understand the nature of aging and inherited diseases and open up the way to fundamentally new methods of diagnosis and treatment.

[Pipko] That's all very well. But many very important problems remain outside the programs. Who will tackle them?

[Tolstykh] No country, not even the most developed one, can make rapid headway simultaneously in all areas of scientific and technical progress. Because of the lags that occurred it is doubly difficult for us to do this. The whole point of the state programs is precisely to focus our efforts and resources on the most important, most crucial tasks. On those that can hardly be resolved without state support. On the other hand, our programs act like traction engines in that they force associated areas of research to pull themselves up to standard. Everyone knows that you cannot create the absolutely safe AES envisaged in the "Environmentally Clean Power Industry" program without developing new designs, new automated systems, and new materials for it.

Or take the transport program, one area of which is concerned with creating an environmentally clean automobile by the year 2000. Here we are in practice concerned with a large number of very diverse vehicles—with "ceramic," "plastic," and steam motors, using energy recovery and flywheels to store energy, and powered by hydrogen and other "exotic" fuels.

[Pipko] Many scientific and technical programs have failed simply through lack of targeted financing. And every participant received, or more often did not receive, the requisite resources through sectorial channels. Will the malfunctions in financing and supply not recur this time around?

[Tolstykh] Research and development resources for the programs will be allocated via the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. The finances of interested ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations will also be used. But this does not mean that any author of a project who turns to us will immediately receive whatever sum he mentions. At the initial stage, he can demand only one thing—permission to take part in a competition for the best project.

To prevent diktat by the apparatus, we have delegated all basic rights to the scientific councils that have been set up for each program. These councils announce the competitions and their conditions and set up expert groups from the best qualified specialists to assess the projects submitted and allocate resources for the implementation of the best of them. And the council can...haggle with the authors of the project, insisting that part of the funds be allocated by their institute, plant, or sector.

Experts have a special role to play in this democratic procedure. Initially, many of them, proud of the trust placed in them, existed in a state of lightheaded elation. But it was quickly succeeded by a certain dismay when the experts realized that the main burden of responsibility rested on them and that they in practice decide by their assessments who gets the money and who does not. They remembered that, unlike the practice in previous years, the work of an expert is now paid for. And that obliges him to treat work in a more rigorous way.

[Pipko] Boris Leontyevich, I have repeatedly heard the opinion expressed that specialists working on the programs should receive certain benefits. Is there anything like that within the mechanism of the present programs?

[Tolstykh] A system of benefits will be worked out without fail. But, to be honest, we would not want to encourage purely self-seeking attitudes. We have put and are continuing to put the emphasis on people who are

consumed by their idea and are prepared to do everything to implement it. A number of measures are envisaged within the mechanism of the programs to help them. In particular, the most crucial targets will be formalized in the form of a state order providing certain advantages regarding supply. Moreover, the resources appropriated for a project are allocated not to the institute or plant but to the people actually carrying it out, which makes them more autonomous.

But, I repeat, we would nevertheless want to attract people precisely because of the ground-breaking nature of the work. And we seem to have succeeded in doing so. It is undeniable, I myself have sometimes found it difficult to credit the instruments and devices which the "High-Temperature Superconductivity" program promises to give to microelectronics. Or a computer with a speed of 1,000 billion operations per second! And the idea of laminar synthesis—a kind of "building up" of a component of the desired shape instead of "cutting" it from a billet with an edged tool—contained within the "Machine Technology and Production of the Future" program seems fantastic, doesn't it? However, there is no point in being surprised: The state scientific and technical programs are conceived precisely to produce such fantastic innovations....

Science Academy's Marchuk on Lifting Secrecy

LD0801000189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1515 GMT 7 Jan 89

[From the "International Program" presented by Tatyana Komarova]

[Text] [Komarova] Scientific contacts are still being made and formed as a result of personal links and personal contacts. As we think about the future, however, we would like to know whether in fact there is a principle governing the search for partners in science, for example, and in the USSR Academy of Sciences in particular.

[G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; identified by screen caption] It seems to me, you know, that the historical experience of the USSR Academy of Sciences indicates that we have already had such partners over many years. We know them all, the outstanding scientists and the major specialists who are capable of dealing not just with theoretical issues but also with applied issues. And really and truly links of that kind have been in existence with us for a very long time.

[Komarova] No doubt more information needs to be available about each other's real potential: On the one hand, we need to have people who have a good knowledge of the capabilities of other countries; and on the other, there must be broad access to our institutes, many of which, as we know, are closed.

[Marchuk] All that is changing sharply now. There is work that is closed in the institutes and laboratories. What is closed? This has to be clearly understood. In the past anything was closed if it was engaged in a certain range of subjects.

[Komarova] Defense, say. We are all aware of that.

[Marchuk] Not necessarily defense, but the latest technologies that might also find application, say, in defense technology. But our point of view in the presidiunm, now, is as follows: If we are on the world level and we know that such research is already in existence somewhere, quite definitely, then such work does not have to be closed. In fact we want to establish contacts with partners primarily on this kind of work in order to develop our research even more quickly in these areas. Here, however, I would like to stress the following thought, that such questions need to be looked into more, so that our economic potential is not squandered. Everyone, therefore, is engaged in secrets that are not so much defense secrets in their nature; that is just talk. Some are defense, there are others of different kinds.

A struggle, a competition is taking place in the economy. If we look much further ahead, then the main task today is to be able to train our young people to cooperate in their work in different countries, in different laboratories. They must be the most talented, the most intelligent, the most promising people, our people who will go to the best laboratories: It will be done by competition, just as the partners who come to us from other countries will be similarly young and talented, and also by competition. The organization of contacts at the apparently "lowest" level that will give the highest results will be of great importance in the future.

These young people will establish contacts; they will begin to work and to inform each other and ultimately this will lead to a situation in which whole schools will lift themselves up and integrate. [video shows Marchuk speaking to camera]

Cutbacks in Nuclear Power Plants in Quake Zones

PM0901112989 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian 6-12 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 5 Jan) p 8

[Untitled reader's letter followed by unattributed comment; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Will nuclear power plant's in the country's seismically dangerous regions be closed down?

K. Maslov, Yalta.

At present 16 plants with 45 reactors with a capacity rating of 34.4 million kilowatts are operating in the USSR. In 1988 they produced more than 215 billion kilowatt hours of electricity, which makes up about 12.7 percent of total production in the country. The construction of nuclear power units at 15 more sites continues.

In the USSR a package of measures is being implemented to increase the safety of nuclear plants in operation, those being built, and those planned. The requirements for places to locate stations have become stricter. Because of the high seismicity of the areas chosen and the introduction of stricter norms for siting nuclear plant design and construction has been halted in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Krasnodar Kray, at the second phase of the Armenian plant, and also at the nuclear central heating and power plant in Minsk and Odessa.

Taking into account the fact that according to certain parameters the Armenian nuclear power plant does not accord with modern norms, even before the earthquake the shutdown of the first power unit was planned for 1990 and the second—for 1991. The timetable for its shutdown will finally be determined after the completion of research now being conducted by the seismologists in the region of the station.

An Interdepartmental Council for Information and Ties with the Public in the Nuclear Power Sphere has been set up with the aim of analyzing public opinion, ensuring glasnost, and monitoring the safety of nuclear plants' work. More than five ministries, scientific, and public organizations will take part in it.

Nuclear Power Plants for Space Vehicles Developed

LD0501122089 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—By TASS scientific observer Nikolay Zheleznov:

Soviet scientists and engineers are stepping up the quest for non-traditional energy sources for space vehicles. Another step in this direction was made last year: a series of flight tests of a new thermoemission nuclear energy-generating installation were carried out. Two 10-kilowatt power installations were launched on board the Cosmos satellites. One of them successfully functioned in orbit for six months and the second one for a year.

Taking into account the lively interest displayed by world scientific circles in these developments, the USSR State Committee for the Use of Nuclear Power is sending a group of specialists who took part in the development and testing of new energy sources to Albuquerque, in the United States, where a symposium on space power engineering opens on January 6.

The flight tests are the result of many years' work under the Soviet Topaz programme. Georgiy Gryaznov, one of the heads of the programme who will also attend the Albuquerque symposium, said that a nuclear reactor which is a combination of a heat source (the Tvel heat-producing element) and a thermoemission transformer had become a basis of a compact and comparatively light energy source which practically does not consume fuel. Because of its high efficiency the reactor can well be used in future power-intensive space vehicles.

Professor Gryaznov pointed out that for the purpose of ensuring radiation safety high-orbit satellites had been used in flight tests. Their passive existence time is about 350 years, which is enough for the decay of fission products to a safe level. The installations were manoeuvred and brought to full capacity on orders from the earth. This method of ensuring radiation safety, that has been tested in the USSR on more than one occasion, can serve as a basis for further developments connected with the creation of safe space vehicles with nuclear power sources.

Economical Tu-204 Airliner Makes Test Flight

PM0901120289 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 3 January 1989 in its First Edition carries on page 3 under the rubric "In Tests" a 900-word report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Baberdin headed "Tu-204: First Flight." The report on the airliner's first test flight, on an unspecified date, from "an airfield near Moscow" includes the following passage:

It is expected that the Tu-204 will surpass by 20-30 percent the most economical machine that Aeroflot has today—the Tu-154M. Fuel consumption per passenger will amount to 19 grams per kilometer. The plane has two engines each rated at 16 tonnes. Fuselage length—45 meters. Full commercial payload—21 tonnes. Maximum takeoff weight—93.5 tonnes. Compound materials—fiberglass, organic, and carbon plastics [stelko-, organo-, ugleplastiki]—account for 15 percent of the total weight of the airframe."

Baberdin goes on to name those involved in the test flight and praise the looks of the plane.